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UPADHYE: PAPERS

DR A N UPADHYE



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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This volume "Upadhye Papers" is a collection of some articles and introductions written by the late Dr A N Upadhye, Retired Professor of Jainology and Prakrit, University of Mysore, whose erudition is well-known to both Oriental and Occidental scholastic world

We are under a deep debt of gratitude to the late Professor Upadhye, who did not survive to see the present form. He gave the Manuscript to the press and himself corrected some proofs too. It is unfortunate, Death laid his harsh hands even before he could settle down in his house at Kolhapur after his retirement from the service of the University of Mysore. After his demise, proofs have been seen by Dr T G Kalghatagi, Sri Shubhachandra and Sri Sitaram Jagirdar. The heavy task of preparing index has been completely done by Sri Sitaram Jagirdar. All this they have done as a token of affection and reverence to the late Professor Upadhye.

We are also grateful to Messrs Wesley Press, Mysore for the excellent printing and to Dr H R Raghunatha Bhat for the cover design.

K T VEERAPPA

Director

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BRHAT-KATHĀKOŚA*

[*Ārādhana Tales and Vaddārādhane*]

1 CRITICAL APPARATUS AND TEXT-CONSTITUTION

(1) Description of Mss and their Mutual Relation

This *editio princeps* of the Kathākośa of Harisena is based on three Mss whose description is given below

Pa This paper Ms, written in Devanāgarī characters, belongs to the Deccan College Collection, now deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It measures 12 7" × 5 7", and bears the No 1159 of 1891-95. In all there are 350 folios written on both sides, the first and the last folio, however, are written on only one side. The page No 267 is put twice. There are twelve lines on a page, and about 50 *akṣaras* in a line. Black ink is used for the body of the text, while the marginal lines, the Daṇḍas, the verse-numbers and the colophons are written in red ink. On many pages the handwriting looks apparently different, but I think that the whole Ms is written by one and the same copyist. It is well preserved. The characters are neat and clear. There are a few marginal notes giving the synonyms of some stray and unusual words occurring in the text. The words to be spaced and the absorbed vowels are indicated by comma-like strokes and Avagraha-like marks respectively, and they are put on the head of the line. A few corrections are made here and there with white paste, and some of them are quite sensible. In many cases they agree with the actual readings of either Pha or Ja. Scribal irregularities in numbering the verses and stories are seen in many places. The Ms opens thus || ६० || ॐ नमो वीतरागाय ||. The concluding portion runs thus इति श्री-हरिवेणाचार्यकृतं बृहत्कथाकोशं समाप्तं || ग्रंथसंख्या १२५००० || श्रीरस्तु || कल्याणमस्तु || सवत् १८६८ का मासोत्तमासे जेठमासशुक्लपक्षचतुर्थ्यां तिथौ सूर्यवारे श्रीमूलसंघे नंद्याम्नाये बलात्कारगणे सरस्वतीगच्छे कुंदकुंदाचाऽर्यान्वये भट्टारकजी श्रीमहेंद्रकीर्तिजी तत्पट्टे भट्टारकजी श्रीक्षेमेंद्रकीर्तिजी तत्पट्टे भट्टारकजी श्रीसुरेंद्रकीर्तिजी तत्पट्टे भट्टारकशिरोमणिभट्टारकजी श्रीसुखेंद्रकीर्तिजी तदाम्नाये सवाईजयनगरे श्रीमन्नेमि नाथचैत्यालये गोधाख्यमंदिरे पंडितोत्तमपंडितजी श्रीसतोषरामजी तत्सिख्य पंडितवपतरामजी तच्छिष्य हरिवंशदासजी तत्सिष्य कृष्णचंद्रः तेषां मध्ये वषतरामकृष्णचंद्राभ्यां ज्ञानावरणीकर्मक्षयार्थं बृहदारधना-कथाकोशाख्यं ग्रंथं स्वशयेन लिपितं श्रोतृवक्तृजनानामिदं शास्त्रं मंगलं भवतु || This colophon is copied as it is, without any material changes, and it shows that the copyist is writing Sanskrit with a good deal of Hindi influence

* This is the Introduction of the Bṛhatkathākośa of Harisena. It was published in the Singhī Jain Series No. 17, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay 1943

Pha: This is a paper Ms written in Devanāgarī characters, and belongs to the Deccan College Collection now deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It measures 13.25"×6 5", and bears the No. 1049 of 1887-91. In all there are 377 folios, and they are written on both sides excepting in the case of the first folio. The Ms falls into two divisions. 157 folios are written in one hand, and the subsequent folios (with the last three lines on p. 157) are written in a different hand. In the first part there are 13 lines on a page with 35 to 40 *akṣaras* in a line, and in the latter portion there are 12 lines on a page with some 45 *akṣaras* in a line. Marginal lines, Daṇḍas, numbers of verses, colophons and words like *yugmam* etc. are written in red ink and the verses are in black ink. The Ms is not well preserved. It has suffered exposure to moisture, some leaves are clogged together, the surface of some pages is torn, and the edges of some folios are spoiled. Here and there some repairs are effected by pasting paper and by attempting to reproduce the lost letters, but the readings so replaced are purely conjectural. Some of the clogged pages could not be collated, but such pages are not many. The damage is apparent more in the first 157 folios, the paper of which is comparatively inferior. Scribal slips and irregularities are found in plenty in this Ms. After the symbol of *bhale*, the Ms. opens thus: ॐ नमो विघ्नच्छिदे and the concluding portion runs thus: इति श्रीहरिवेणाचार्यकृतं बृहत्कथाकोशं समाप्तं ॥ १२५०० ॥ श्री ॥ सवत् १८७७ का मासोत्तममासे आसादसुकपक्षे तिथौ ५ श्रृगवासरे लिप्यकृतं माहात्मा समुराम सवाईजयपुरमध्ये लिषायंत ।

Ja. It stands for the transcript (upto the end of the story No. 55) of a Jaipur Ms kindly sent to me by my friend Pt. Kamta Prasadaji of Aliganj. Later on he arranged to send the Jaipur Ms itself (leaves 87 onwards) to me after procuring it through Pt. Bhanwar Lal Shastri, Jaipur. The Ms belongs to a private library in Jaipur. I owe special thanks to Pt. Bhanwar Lalaji but for whose kind offices it would not have been possible to get this Ms. The portion of the Jaipur Ms received by me does not exhibit an uniform constitution. Folios 87 to 122 are written in one hand with the verse-numbers, *yugmam* etc., and colophons in red ink. The appearance of these pages is comparatively old. A square piece is left blank in the middle of the page. There are some 13 lines on a page and about 45 *akṣaras* in a complete line. For folios 123 to 318 new and thick paper is used, and the handwriting too is different and comparatively inferior in appearance. Pages 183 etc., are numbered as 173 etc. In this new portion, no square-like space is left blank in the centre of the page, the red ink is used only for the marginal lines, and some light reddish powder is applied to verse-numbers, words like *yugmam* and colophons. There are about 14 lines on a page and some 37 letters in a line. Division of words is indicated by short comma-like strokes put at the top of the line. Absorbed vowels too are shown by a sign like the *avagraha*. Scribal errors are covered by some white paste. On the last page, No. 318, the name of the work is written on the left margin as *Brhad-ārādhana-kathākośa*. After the 16th verse of the *Praśasti*, there is a number 12500, put between the lines which perhaps stands for the *Granthāgāra*. Then we have the colophon in red ink: इति श्रीहरिवेणाचार्यकृतं बृहत्कथाकोशं समाप्तं । The two letters *cārya* are covered with black ink possibly by a later copyist who did not like to acknowledge *Harīṣeṇa* as an *Ācārya*. Then we have in black ink: सवत् १८३३ का मासोत्तममासे प्रथमभाद्रपदमासकृष्णपक्षा-मावस्य तिथौ श्री. The rest of the writing, covering nearly six lines, has been rubbed with black ink, and the letters can be recognised with great difficulty. Possibly this portion contains for whom the copy was prepared etc. Some names like *Surendrakīrti* and

Kṣemendrakīrti are seen in that portion. On the upper margin of page 318 we have 'Lambara 1072' which possibly stands for the number of the Ms in a particular collection.

So far as the Ms. Ja is concerned, the portion which would have mentioned the place of copying is erased with black ink, but we have received this Ms from Jaipur. The two other Mss clearly state that they are written at Jaipur. Pha and Ja do not show uniform constitution; their dates consequently indicate the age of the concluding portion only, i e, pp 158-377 in Pha and pp 123-328 in Ja. As the dates are available, Ja was written in Samvat 1833 (-57=1776 A D), Pa in Samvat 1868 (-57=1811 A D) and Pha in Samvat 1877 (-57=1820 A D). The pages 87-122 in Ja look older, and they can be assigned at least 50 years earlier than 1776 A D. Apart from the form of letters, which is bound to vary from scribe to scribe, the style of writing is nearly alike in these three Mss. Here and there these Mss add explanatory synonyms on the margin for certain obscure words; and the important ones are recorded by me in the foot-notes. These Mss show some common orthographical peculiarities. *c* and *v* are written alike, the three sibilants are freely confused, in a conjunct group with *r* as the first member, the other member is necessarily written as a duplicate, *visarga* is retained when it should have been dropped, and it is at times dropped when it should have been retained, the graphic representation for *tk*, *kt* and *ktv* is almost alike, at times *gr* is confused with *gr*, *mri* with *mr*, and *r* with *ri*, usually *ch* is written for *cch*, *bho* for *bhoh*, *udyota* for *uddyota*, *sarmukha* for *sammukha*, *hk* for *ṣk* etc. Some of the words are mutually confounded, for instance, *prīti* and *prīta*, *nihata* and *nihata*, *prāpya* and *prāpa*, *Ujjayani* and *Ujjayinī*, *asīśrayat* and *asīśriyat*. Samdhī rules are not regularly observed at the close of Pādas. The Ms Pha sometimes shows *i* for *y*.

These three Mss do not show anything like recensions, but they belong to one and the same family or group. Apart from the form of colophons and the use of *yugmam*, *yugalam* or *yugalamidam*, with which, I think, the copyists have taken slight liberty, the Mss show quite minor variations among themselves. In the beginning Pa, Pha and Ja show some differences. Later when Pa and Pha differed, Ja agreed, now and then, either with Pa or Pha. But with the change of hand-writing on folio No 157, i e, from the verse No 64 in the story No 63, Pha begins to show remarkable agreement with Pa almost upto the end. With the story No 107 onwards all the three Mss closely agree in various details, and the number of different readings is almost negligible. Some of the readings of Ja agree with those of Pha, but the marginal corrections thereof agree with those of Pa. With the meagre evidence that is at our disposal, it is not possible to assert any direct relation between these three Mss. The text-tradition presented in them shows mutual contamination, and possibly they go back to a common source a few generations of Mss back. There are some significant lapses in all the three Mss inherited from the common source. On p 96 of this edition, we see that all the three Mss interchanged the places of verses, Nos 183-84, even against the trend of the story. The copyist of Ms Pa did detect it, and he has added a marginal suggestion. Secondly, on p 226, after verse No 293, there is a confusion in the arrangement of lines. I have already indicated in the foot-note how the lines require to be rearranged to give a continuous story. My explanation of this confusion is like this. In one of the earlier Mss, which lies at the basis of the tradition of the text preserved in Pa, Pha and Ja, the copyist might have skipped over a few lines through oversight, but realizing this omission later, he added them perhaps on the

margin of the next page putting a remark '*agre pr̥the lkhutam asti*' at the place where they were missed. The subsequent copyists transcribed this remark at the right place, but incorporated the missing lines, written on the next page, at a wrong place with the result that we have a few lines grossly misplaced in that context. Lastly, on p 240, a common significant slip is seen in all the three Mss that they put three lines in verse No 71 when, in fact, the second line of No 65 appears to have been missed. These typical cases go to confirm that these three Mss. go back to a common source in the near past.

(11) Presentation of the Text

The text of the Kathākośa, presented here, cannot claim to be critical in the strict sense of the term, but it is authentic within the limits of the Mss material described above. All the three Mss show a close kinship and represent identical recension, though they are not the copies of one another. A close comparison helped the editor to eliminate many scribal errors and ascertain uncertain readings. As the text is being edited for the first time, I have proceeded with utmost conservatism. This text, moreover, belongs to a tract of medieval Sanskrit literature which shows important and interesting grammatical and lexical peculiarities that have already attracted the attention of philologists like Jacobi, Hertel, Bloomfield and others. I did not want that the linguistic peculiarities should be levelled down under any rigorous editorial discipline. So the agreement of the three Mss has been uniformly upheld. The general spelling and other outward features of the text are presented in a standardised form. The orthographical peculiarities like *ch* for *cch*, *bho* for *bhoh*, *udyot* for *uddiyot*, *sanmukha* for *sammukha*, *hk* for *ṣk* etc, however, are retained, because they are so written by all the three Mss. The Samdhis have been restored where it could be done without violating the metre, but difficult Samdhis, like those between *n* and *c*, *n* and *l*, *n* and *ś* etc, especially at the end of a Pāda, are not rigorously effected. Absorbed vowels, whether *a* or *ā*, have been usually indicated by single or double *avagraha* for facility of understanding. Important and meaningful variants are given in the foot-notes. The terms like *yugmam* etc, are relegated to the foot-notes for the sake of printing convenience. Nowhere the readings are emended in the body of the text. The text is corrupt in many places, there are syntactical irregularities, there are deviations from the recognised grammatical standard, there are obscurities of meaning and construction, and many a Pāda is metrically defective. All these are allowed to remain, when there is the agreement of the three Mss. In many places, without going too far beyond the material of readings, convenient emendations could be suggested, and some of them are put in square-brackets in the foot-notes. This should not be understood as some pretension of the editor to improve upon the text of Harisena but it is a modest and sincere attempt to reach the genuine readings of Harisena whose original text has suffered a good deal at the hands of copyists through generations of Mss. When constituting the text, I felt myself faced with various doubts, suggestions and improvements with respect to the actual readings; and all these I have incorporated in the Notes at the end. These suggestions are tentative, and the critical student is requested to take them for what they are worth. Whether they are to be accepted or rejected would be apparent when some more Mss are collated and better readings are made available. With this procedure I hope to have given an authentic record of the text-tradition from the three Mss used by me and presented the text as satisfactorily as it was possible for me within the limits of the material.

(11) Numbering of the Stories

These Mss. have not correctly and regularly numbered all the stories upto the end. There are no titles for the stories at the beginning; but in this edition they are added by the editor for referential facility. Every story has got only the concluding remark which is accompanied by the serial number of the story. Now and then the stories are wrongly numbered usually the same number is put for two consecutive stories, but subsequently the error is corrected. If all the stories are serially counted (excluding the Prasasti), the total number comes to 165. But this calculation is objectionable in view of the unanimous statement of the Mss., on p. 354, that there are 157 Kathānakas in this Kathākośa. Despite their irregularities in the interval, all the Mss. agree to number Dhanyamitra's story as 100. The next story of Sāgaradatta is numbered as 101 by Pa and Pha, but according to Ja it is 102 which is a mistake. The next nine stories or sections are not numbered at all by the Mss., so they have to be included as sub-stories of section No. 102. The section with the colophon '*Bhatta-partibaddha-Cumkārīkā* etc', on p. 255, is not numbered at all by Pa and Pha, but Ja puts No. 103 for it. The following story of Pinnākagandha is numbered 104 by all the three Mss., and if we continue this numbering, we arrive at the requisite number 157 as dictated by the Mss. themselves. As the material stands, this is the only way to arrive at the required number of stories, but certain discrepancies are quite apparent. First, under the present arrangement adopted in this edition, the subsections are shown under chap. 102, but that section (with its subsections) really concludes with a colophon (p. 255) which is specifically numbered 103 by the Ms. Ja. Secondly, we have to begin a section with No. 102 (p. 245) but end it with No. (102*1) on p. 249. Lastly, we feel, apparently of course, that there are only nine sub-stories, though they are expected to be ten according to an explicit remark '*daśa-kathānakam idam*' on p. 255.

As the present arrangement stands, it is difficult to explain the anomalies, but it is possible to rearrange some portions of the text to suit the situation, and the internal evidence is quite favourable for such a redistribution. The section No. 102 might end with verse No. 46 on p. 247, and section No. 103 should begin with verse No. 47 and end on p. 255 with the colophon *Bhatta-pratibaddha-etc* which, as expected has already got No. 103. Now in this section there should be ten stories as indicated by the remark *daśa-kathānakam idam* on p. 255. In this proposed arrangement the sub-stories will have to be renumbered $103*1=(102*1)$, $103*2=(102*2)$ etc. The sub-story $103*1=(102*1)$ is to begin with verse No. 120 on p. 249. In this arrangement all the facts get duly explained, and the new sections proposed possess the characteristic beginnings like other sections in this work.

2 NARRATIVE TALE IN INDIA

(1) Vedic and Allied Literature

The intellectual life in India, as reflected in ancient and medieval Indian literature, is thoroughly permeated with religious thought. That India is a cradle of religions is not merely a proud or sarcastic platitude, but it is a fact which can be fully attested by a large mass of evidence from literary records. The earliest records of Āryans, especially the R̥gveda, preserved on the Indian soil and handed through the hierarchy of Indian priests,

are full of devotional songs addressed to personified phenomena of nature, and later, these songs have been subjected to elaborate rituals which came to be associated, explicitly or symbolically, with every walk of life. Religion inherits its sacredness or authority from the sanctity it has bestowed on the Divinity, Scripture and Hero or Teacher, and these in turn help the elaboration of religious dogmas as time passes on. Every developed religion owes its allegiance to these three in some form or the other. Rituals and worship, as well as devotion and meditation, are primarily associated with the first and gradually get embodied in the second. Particular doctrines, dogmas and teachings constitute the Scripture which in turn glorifies the Divinity and edifies the Hero. The Hero represents or is inspired by the Divinity, he has inherited or come to possess the knowledge of the Scripture, and being a successful follower of the religion, his doings are an example for others. These three are interdependent and gradually contribute to the detailed evolution of religion and religious literature. The growth of Indian literature fully testifies to this general procedure.

Apart from its theoretical and mystical elements, religion, so far as it has grown on the Indian soil, has constantly attempted to evolve and propagate certain ethical standards for the good behaviour of man as a constituent of the society. Thus religion has also played the rôle of the norm of good behaviour for the guidance of which some objective criteria were necessary. They were put in various forms: they may be the instructions of the Divinity inherited from times immemorial, they may be the sanctions of the old Scriptures, and they may be the preachings and examples of the Heroes of the past. It is in the last tendency that we can trace the antecedents of the epic poetry, heroic legends and didactic tale in India, which began moderately but assumed massive magnitude as time passed on.

The songs of Rgveda can hardly be called popular poetry, but they had their origin, in the majority of cases, in the priestly circles. As a favourite of the deities addressed and as the custodian of the sacrificial cult elaborated, the priest is always trying to stand above the people, though not outside. Thus he is not altogether immune from the influence of popular traditions and devoid of appeal to the people at large. Vedic poetry has preserved many an interesting tale to narrate. We are told how that militant Indra destroys the demons like Vṛtra and removes drought and darkness. Various myths are told about the twin Aśvins who are succouring divinities. The priest, who possesses a correct knowledge of the sacrifice, has these gods in his power: thus the priest only strengthens his hands and the cult of sacrifice by glorifying the various divinities that are said to bestow so much wellbeing on the people. The so-called Ākhyāna hymns are ancient mythological ballads containing narrative and dramatic elements. It is here that we come across the dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī and the passionate conversation between Yama and Yamī, the former, however, is elaborately immortalised in later Indian literature. The Dānastutis have preserved to us lavish praise bestowed on those donors who showered their bounty on the priests, and it is quite likely that some of these patrons of sacrifices were historical persons, though unluckily we know nothing beyond their names.

As we pass on to the Brāhmanas, which present a dreary reading on account of their priestly twaddle about theology and sacrifice, their chief human interest is that they contain many myths and legends. They present an enormous amount of religion and ritual which are connected very little with morality. Sacrifice assumes the form of a magnificent

mechanism through which gods fulfil the worldly wishes of the sacrificer; and his enemies, on that very account, are made to suffer. In order to explain some sacrificial ceremony and its efficacy, to celebrate the greatness of gods and their bounty, to sing the praise of ancient heroes and to impress on the audience the important rôle of the priestly art, ancient tales, myths and legends are narrated here and there. Despite their professed association with priestly ends and sacrificial cult, some of the tales do contain popular elements. The myth of Purūravas and Urvaśī, the tale of Hariścandra and the sacrificial victim Śunaśśepa, the legend about Prajāpati are certainly interesting as narrative pieces. The nucleus of the basic story is hard to be detected from the exuberant elaboration of the tale narrated to explain, justify and glorify some sacrificial ceremony. In fact the beginning of the epic poetry, with its manifold aspects, reaches back to this narrative stratum of the Brāhmanic texts.

Coming to the Upanisads we enter altogether a different world. In the intellectual life of the Upanisads, the priest is receding back and almost a new horizon is in view. A note of unity in theology, a complaint against the vanity of barren sacrifices and monopoly of all knowledge by the priest, yearning for the highest knowledge setting aside the conventional social disabilities, attempt to explain worldly inequality not from the favour and frown of the gods but from one's own deeds and according to the doctrine of transmigration, a gradual ousting of sacrifices and donations by pursuit of higher knowledge and asceticism, use of repeated ethico-moral exhortations to guide man as a member of the society. these are some of the outstanding traits of Upanisads which distinguish them from the Brāhmaṇas. To explain the origin of this fresh orientation in thought Winternitz remarks 'While, then, Brahmins were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upanisads. From these circles, which originally were not connected with the priestly caste, proceeded the forest-hermits and wandering ascetics, who not only renounced the world and its pleasures, but also kept aloof from the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brahmins. Different sects, more or less opposed to Brahmanism, were soon formed from these same circles, among which sects the Buddhists attained to such great fame'.¹ The Upanisadic stratum of literature, especially in the older tract, supplies us with some interesting narratives such as the dispute between Gārgī and Yājñavalkya, the story of Satyakāma Jābāla and the incidents about Kṣatriyas like Pravāhaṇa and Aśva-pati. Some of these deserve to be remembered as intellectual heroes of ancient India.

In the post-vedic Indian literature, there are three great narrative streams, which have already attracted the attention of critical scholars, viz., Brhatkathā, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, the first in Pāṣāṇī Prākṛit and the remaining two in Sanskrit. The Brhatkathā of Guṇādhya is lost beyond recovery, there being available only three summaries of it in Sanskrit, and the basic nucleus of the last two, as it was originally shaped by their respective authors, is almost beyond recovery, though attempts are being made by critical scholars in this direction, because these texts have reached mighty magnitude with interpolations and alterations effected by talented and propagandistic redactors, each one working in his own way in different parts of India for centuries together. The Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana have already received the designation of 'epic', while the first also, despite its romantic and fairy elements, must have had the magnitude and dignity of an

¹ A History of Indian Literature, I, p. 231.

epic. The growth of the two epics is a problem by itself, and very good results are reached by critical investigators

The primary kernel of the Mahābhārata is a heroic tale belonging to the Kuru cycle of legends, especially dealing with the great Kuru battle. But this secular event is imposed on with the grandiose superstructure of an encyclopaedic literature showing clear-cut strata of different types and ages. This extraneous matter includes religious legends of theo-cosmological contents, independent stories such as those about Karna's birth, Yudhishthira's escape from sins by giving gifts to Brāhmanas, destruction of the Yādava race etc., religio-philosophical and ethical sections including maxims on polity and social behaviour, fables, parables and didactic narratives, and lastly a good deal of ascetic poetry. The entire work, in parts and as a whole, has passed through the hands of many redactors, and all sorts of topics are admitted into the body of the text irrespective of inconsistency and mutual contradiction. The Mahābhārata text, as it stands today, is moulded into its present shape, according to the opinion of competent authorities, under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence¹. This must have been preceded and followed by many a sectarian attempt of this nature. Many long and short Ākhyānas etc., are simply added without much connection with the main story. In any way the Mahābhārata contains a substantial stock of narratives of all sorts which have influenced later authors in their choice of topics.

The Rāmāyana does not contain so much heterogeneous matter as the Mahābhārata, though this text also has grown in the hands of professional rhapsodists who wanted to meet the demands of popular taste. The story of Rāma has found a place in the Mahābhārata and bears close resemblance with that in the Daśaratha-Jātaka. The first and the last books of the Rāmāyana, which have been pronounced by critics as later addition, definitely betray the redactor's attempt to glorify god Viṣṇu who is claimed to have been incarnated as Rāma. Thus the sectarian hand has worked on a purely popular tale. Some of the characters developed in the Rāmāyana are really interesting. Sītā has been looked upon as a typical ideal of Indian womanhood and Hanumat has been the popular deity of Indian villages. The fabulous birth of Sītā reminds us of the Rgvedic Furrow personified and invoked as a goddess. The Rāmāyana is not only an epic but the major portion betrays also the tendencies of an ornate poem where the form of the story is as much important as the contents. Especially in the seventh book we come across various myths and legends, viz., the legend of Yayāti and Nahusa, the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya, destruction of Śambūka etc., which are interpolated at a later stage.

Purāṇas deal with cosmogenic and legendary details and give an account of gods, saints, heroes, incarnations and royal genealogies. Everywhere their didactic tone and sectarian purpose are quite plain. They show close connection with the later interpolations in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana.

The Rāmāyana exhibits ornate style only here and there. But when we look at the Kāvya stratum of Sanskrit literature, its characteristics get clearly distinguished from those of the epic. The epic poet minded primarily the subject-matter and a vigorous narration. In the Kāvya, however, the subject-matter is a feeble base for the poet to display his mastery over grammar, his facility of expression, his tricks of style, his ingenious use of poetic embellishments connected with both expression and thought, and last but not the least his thorough grounding in the elaborate and conventional theory of poetics. What

¹ V. S. Sukthankar. The Bhṛgu and the Bhārata, Annals of the B O R I, Vol. XVIII, part 1, pp. 1-76.

were once virtues became vices, because the later poets, in their pedantic parade of learning, lost all sense of proportion and balance of stressing values. The subject-matter, as remarked by Macdonell, 'is increasingly regarded as a means for the display of elaborate conceits, till at last nothing remains but bombast and verbal jugglery'¹. Beginning with Kālidāsa and almost upto the close of the period of the lively use of Sanskrit, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana have become with many authors the perennial source of the subject-matter which is nicely dressed 'with lyric, erotic and didactic' spicing. Among the Kāvyaś the Raghuvamśa, Bhattikāvya, Rāvanavaho, Jānakīharana etc., deal with Rāma legend; while the Kirātārjuniya, Śiśupālavadha, Naisadhīya etc., are indebted to the Mahābhārata for their themes. Most of the dramas draw their themes from the two epics and the Brāhmkathā, and there are very few plays like Mudrārāksasa and Mālatīmādhava which have chosen non-epical subject for their plots. Later on the poets, whether they write in prose or in verse, are not so much after the narration of the story as after the display of their learning. This is quite true especially of the prose romances like the Daśakumāra-carita, Vāsavadattā, Kādambarī etc. Their authors show close acquaintance with the two epics, but their themes are not necessarily and mainly drawn from them. Their style is such that these can be read only by a few intellectual aristocrats. Strings of similes, plenty of puns, intricacy of style crammed with compounds—these are the normal features of their diction. To appreciate their literary genius and to pick up their poetical thoughts one must have undergone a long apprenticeship to the rigorous study of grammar and poetics. These authors, in spite of themselves, have got a religious background with moral and didactic exhortations scattered throughout the work. The didactic element becomes predominant with authors like Bhartṛhari. Purely amorous sentiment is depicted by poets like Amarū, but the same gets inlaid in a religious background and expressed in a mystic melody by authors like Jayadeva. In these ornate compositions there is very little scope for the narrative tale.

When we look at the tract of didactic fable represented by the Pañcatantra and its associates, of romantic tale specimens of which appear to have existed in the Brāhmkathā and are now represented by the Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā etc., and of religious and moral tales samples of which are found in the epics and which are largely cultivated by the followers of different religions in their own ways, we find that the entertainment of the reader is not altogether ignored, but the desire to teach is always uppermost in the mind of the author. Man is an erring animal working in various ways under the tension of internal and external forces. He must be taught to understand rightly and behave properly. This could be achieved, to a great extent, by exemplary tales in which birds and beasts are introduced as characters, in which imaginary figures are made to take part, or in which even gods and semi-historical persons are the actors.

(ii) Śramanic Ideology Ascetic Poetry

The literature that we have reviewed so far for getting a picture, in broad outlines, of narrative tale in India from early times belongs mainly to those who have held Vedas as the highest religious authority and who owe allegiance to the Vedic religion or its direct and indirect successors. A critico-historical study of Indian literature beginning with the Veda and ending with the epics and Smṛtis has helped scholars to detect a gap in the philosophical evolution of religious thought embodied in this tract of literature. After

¹ A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 329.

reaching the Upaniṣadic period, we come across novel ideas such as the doctrine of transmigration, partiality towards pessimistic and ascetic outlook on life and the superiority of Ātmavidyā over the sacrificial cult. The priest has no more the monopoly of knowledge, and eminent Kṣatriyas are propounding some of the above principles which, to an objective critic, have little basis either in the Veda or the Brāhmanas. Before the advent of Āryans into India, we can legitimately imagine that a highly cultivated society existed along the fertile banks of Ganges and Jumna, and it had its religious teachers. Vedic text have always looked with some antipathy at the Magadhan country where Jainism and Buddhism flourished; and these religions owe no allegiance to the Vedic authority. The gap in the philosophical thought at the close of the Brāhmana period has necessitated the postulation of an indigenous stream of religious thought which must have influenced the Āryan thought, at the same time being influenced by the latter. Different scholars have differently described this indigenous religion of Eastern India. Jacoby called it Popular religion; Leumann held that its propounders were the Parivrājakas, Garbe associated it with the Kṣatriyas, Rhys Davids has recognised the influence of well-organised sophistic wanderers; Winternitz conveniently designated these ideas as 'Ascetic poetry', and I called this stream of thought by the name 'Magadhan religion'. As I have said elsewhere, 'we should no more assess the Sāṃkhya, Jaina, Buddhist and Ājīvika tenets as mere perverted continuations of stray thoughts selected at random from the Upaniṣadic bed of Āryan thought-current. The inherent similarities in these systems, as against the essential dissimilarities with Āryan (Vedic and Brahmanic) religion and the gaps that a dispassionate study might detect between the Vedic (including the Brāhmanas) and Upaniṣadic thought-currents, really point out to the existence of an indigenous stream of thought, call it for convenience the Magadhan Religion, which was essentially pessimistic in its worldly outlook, metaphysically dualistic if not pluralistic, animistic and ultra humane in its ethical tenets, temperamentally ascetic, undoubtedly accepting the dogma of transmigration and Karma doctrine, owing no racial allegiance to Vedas and Vedic rites, subscribing to the belief of individual perfection, and refusing unhesitatingly to accept a creator¹. Jainism and Buddhism are fairly typical representatives of this Magadhan religion the background of which I have outlined thus elsewhere. 'This brief survey of some of the important tenets of Jainism compared and contrasted here and there with those of other Indian systems tempts me to try to state tentatively the position of Jainism in the evolution of Indian religious-philosophical thought. Its non-acceptance of Vedic authority, wholly common with Buddhism and partly with Sāṃkhya, perhaps indicates that these three belong to one current of thought. They have in common the theory of transmigration with the attendant pessimistic outlook of life and Karma doctrine as an automatic law of retribution which appear definitely for the first time in Upaniṣads so far as the Vedic literature is concerned. The humane and ethical outlook and the downright denunciation of Himsā, whether for personal ends or for sacrificial purposes, are common to all the three. That Buddhism and Sāṃkhya have much in common is not a new thing to orientalists. Ontological dualism, the plurality of spirits, the misleading of the spirit by matter, the early Sāṃkhya belief that there are as many Prakṛtis as there are Puruṣas and many other technical details are common to Jainism and Sāṃkhya. In all the three systems there is no place for a creator or super-human distributor of prizes and punishments. These common points are not at all consistent with the natural evolution of the Vedic religion till almost the

¹ Pravacanasāra, Bombay 1935, Preface, pp 12-13

middle of the Upanisadic period Especially the Sāṃkhya, which is accepted as orthodox possibly because of its fascinating terminology, in spite of its glaring inconsistencies with the accepted orthodoxy, has influenced some of the Upanisads; and later on being coupled with theistic Yoga it became unquestionably orthodox In view of these common points between Jainism, Sāṃkhya and Buddhism and their common differences with the Āryo-Vedic religious forms, and in view of some of the peculiar tenets of Jainism in common with Ājīvika, Pūraṇa Kassapa's order etc, I am inclined to postulate a great Magadhan religion, indigenous in its essential traits, that must have flourished on the banks of Ganges in eastern India long before the advent of the Āryans into central India, and possibly at the end of the Brāhmana period these two streams of Āryan and indigenous religious thoughts met each other, and the mutual interaction resulted on the one hand into the Upanisads in which Yājñavalkya and others are, for the first time, preaching Ātma-vidyā and on the other, in contrast to the Vedic ritualistic form of religion practised by the masses, into Jainism and Buddhism that came prominently to the fore as the strong representatives of the great heritage of Magadhan Religion' ¹

According to Winternitz, all intellectual activities in ancient India were not confined only to Brāhmaṇas there was not only Brahmanical literature, but there was also the Parivrājaka, Śramaṇa or ascetic literature These two representatives of intellectual and spiritual life in ancient India are well recognized by the phrase 'Samanas and Brāhmaṇas' in Buddhist sacred texts, by the reference to 'Samana Bambhana' in Asokan inscriptions, and by Megasthenes's distinction between Brachmānai and Sarmānai These two can be clearly distinguished by their different legends, ethical values and moral outlook Brahmanical legends start from Vedic mythology, the great Rsis, the seers of Vedic hymns and law-givers, have achieved a position almost by the side of gods, and the gift given to the priest is a plenipotentiary But the Śramaṇic legends deal with world-renouncing saints and ascetics devoted to severe penances The Brahmanical ethics and moral creed are steeped in the system of castes, and renunciation, though admitted, does not play an important rôle Knowledge of the Veda, sacrifice and respect to the Brāhmaṇas have been given great importance Ethical values have a conventional import charity means liberality towards the Brāhmaṇas, self-sacrifice implies absolute devotion to the priests, and the king's promotion to the heaven depends upon his obedience to the priest But the ethical ideal of the ascetic poetry is different here the ethical discipline and renunciation are practised as the means for obtaining emancipation, the saint fears no being and holds no terror to others, he is the exalted embodiment of self-denial and self-sacrifice, sages of all ranks practise these ideals, and Ahimsā and Maitrī are the highest principles of moral life

The ascetic morality is based on the belief in transmigration and Karman Everywhere bitter complaints are expressed against the nature of Samsāra, there is a pessimistic attitude towards life, and stress is laid on the eternal bliss of liberation These ideas are hardly met with in the Veda There are a few casual traces of the Karma doctrine in the Chāndogya and Brhadāraṇyaka where characteristically enough it is taught by a king to the Brāhmaṇa The pessimistic note, so patent in ascetic poetry, appears only in the latest Upanisads

This ascetic poetry has left its influence on the Mahābhārata and on the Jaina and Buddhist texts, as it is clear from the Piṭāputra-samvāda the counterparts of which are

¹ Pravacanasāra, Intro., pp 94-95.

found in the *Jātaka* and in the *Uttarādhyaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* has got many such sections, for instance, *Vidurāhitavākya* (5, 32-40), *Dhṛtarāstra-śokāpanodana* (*Strīparvan* 2-7), the famous parable of the 'Man in the Well', which is also present in the *Jaina* and *Buddhist* works, the instructions of *Dharmavyādha* (*Vanaparvan* 207-16), *Tulādhāra-Jāli-samvāda* (*Śānti* 261-64), the section of *Yajñanindā* (*XII*, 272 etc.), the *Go-kapiliya* section (*Ibid* 269-71), the detachment of *Janaka* (*XII*, 178) which is common with *Jaina* and *Buddhist* texts, the story of hunter and doves (*Śānti* 143-49), the tale of *Mudgala* (*III* 260 f.), etc. Some of the principles inculcated and some of the moral values advocated in these sections are not quite consistent with the *Brahmanical* morality already expressed in other contexts.

As to the historical position of this ancient Indian ascetic poetry, the *Mahābhārata* cannot be the original source, because these sections are found in the latest stratum, so many of these discourses may have existed independently before they were taken up in the *Mahābhārata*. In conclusion Winternitz says, 'I am inclined to think that ascetic poetry and the peculiar view of life expressed in it, first arose in an old form of *Yoga* which was merely a system of ethics and a practical theory of redemption, that could as easily be combined with *Sāṃkhya*, as with *Buddhist* and *Jaina* teaching. Both *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* though taken up into the folds of orthodox *Brāhmanism* were originally not *Brāhmanical*, but independent of the *Veda*'. He accepts the position that 'some of the legends and maxims of the ascetic poetry contained in the epic are doubtless borrowed from *Jaina* or *Buddhist* texts'. As to the common legends and maxims, there are two possibilities 'the original may have been either *Buddhist* or *Jain*, or the parallel passages may all go back to the same source, an older ascetic literature, that probably arose in connection with *Yoga* or *Sāṃkhya-Yoga* teaching'¹

Though the approach is slightly different, there is much common ground between the *Ascetic literature* discussed above and the *Magadhan religion* outlined by me but for the geographical bias of the latter, both the terms connote nearly the same stock of ideas. Unfortunately the works of sophists like *Mankhalī Gosāla*, *Pūrana Kassapa*, etc., have not come down to us. In the ancient Indian literature that has come down to us, one can say without hesitation, in view of the nature of the legends and the ethico-religious outlook outlined by Winternitz, that *Jaina* and *Buddhist* literatures are the major custodians of ascetic poetry, and *Jainism* and early *Buddhism* are the best representatives of the *Magadhan religion*.

(iii) Early Buddhist Literature

Throughout *Buddhist literature*, which is studied more exhaustively and critically than *Jaina literature*, the personality of *Buddha* wields tremendous influence on the reader almost at every context. *Buddha* is a master-physician who wants to cure man of his miseries by prescribing to him his religious principles. As a successful teacher, he rightly grasped men and their minds, and we learn that he used to tell many amusing and agreeable tales, both instructive and pleasant, which made all beings happy in this and the next world. Illustration has played a remarkable rôle in the Indian mode of thought, and the

¹ This is a short summary of an excellent paper 'Ascetic Literature in Ancient India' by Winternitz in his *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, Calcutta 1925, also his paper 'Jainas in Indian Literature' *Indian Culture* I, 2, October 1934.

sylogism necessarily includes an Udāharana. This necessitated the teacher to keep himself well-acquainted with different walks of life from which illustrations were drawn that they might immediately convince the people about the intelligence of the teacher and about the veracity of his preachings. It is quite likely that Buddha included popular tales in his preachings. Pāli literature presents abundant evidence that Buddhist monks and preachers profusely illustrated their sermons with tales of piety, religious suffering, successful penance and the attainment of Arhatship. 'They sometimes invented pious legends, but more frequently they took fables, fairy tales, and amusing anecdotes from the rich store-house of popular tales or from secular literature, altering and adapting them for the purpose of religious propaganda. The Bodhisattva dogma, in connection with the doctrines of rebirth and Karma, was an excellent expedient for turning any popular or literary tale into a Buddhist legend'¹ Similes and parables have a great effect on the audience, and they convince the hearer more easily than a legion of abstruse arguments, eminent teachers, therefore, always used them to spice their sermons.

Beginning with the Vinayapitaka, the rules and regulations in the Khandakās are introduced by narratives illustrating the occasion when they were announced by Buddha. In the Cullavagga too we come across many edifying anecdotes—some of them are conversion-stories and some of them deserve to be interwoven either in the life of the Buddha or the Buddhist order. The stories such as those of Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Mahāpajāpati, Upālī, Jīvaka etc., have a perennial sociological and psychological interest. In the Dīghanikāya and the Majjhimanikāya of the Suttapitaka we come across bits of information connected with Buddha's biography. We have dialogues like the Payāsisutta, and there are myths and legends which illustrate a doctrine or convey a moral. Stories of Channa, Assalāyana etc., have an appearance of some factual occurrence. The tale of the robber Angulimāla who became a monk and reached the status of an Arhat, the legend of king Makhādeva who entered the order of monks at the first appearance of grey hair, and Ratthapāla's renunciation and subsequent strictures on the vanity of worldly pleasures—these are some of the fine specimens of ballad narrative edifying ascetic ideals. The two texts Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu give stories, all made after one model, which illustrate how a happy or unhappy existence in the next world with its splendour or torment was acquired—these stories are meant to prove the universality and the efficacy of the doctrine of Karman. When the individuals concerned are made to explain their fate, such narrations would certainly have an effect on the believing hearers. The commentators are there to supply the requisite details in full. Thera- and Therī-gāthā are collections of spiritual confessions of souls of monks and nuns yearning for peace. Undoubtedly these are ascetic heroes whose utterances are to enlighten and whose examples are to inspire others that want to follow the spiritual ideal. Some of them appear to be historical persons. The verses uttered by them do not give any biographical details, but the corresponding Apadāna stories and the commentary of Dharmapāla give good many details about these monks and nuns. Most of these stories look like mechanical patterns, but as tales meant for a moral exhortation, they have a definite significance. The names have not got much value, but the spirit of asceticism, the working of the Karma doctrine, truth of moral values and the need of a pious life are all impressed upon the believers by these stories. When one looks at the tales of men and women of different status in life who are inspired by religious ideals and necessarily adopt the monastic life, it only means that ascetic values wielded a great

¹ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, VII, p. 491

influence on the outlook of these story-writers. Some of these stories are interesting as pieces of genuine didactic tale and realistic pictures of life

Then there are two other extensive tracts of early Buddhist narrative literature that preach moral and ascetic ideals interwoven in a story. The first is the *Jātaka*, and the second the *Apadāna*. According to Buddhist terminology¹, *Jātaka* is a story in which Buddha, in one of his earlier births, plays some part, it may be as a hero or any other character or even as a mere witness. The dogma of *Bodhisattva*, coupled with the doctrines of transmigration and *Karman*, could turn any tale into a *Jātaka*. These *Jātakas* not only heightened the greatness of Buddha's personality, but quietly propagated also the ideas of rebirth and *Karman*, and established certain moral standards in the society for its collective welfare. Some of the stories that came to be put into the *Jātaka* from are already found in the *Suttas* as simple tales. If they are stripped of the personality of *Bodhisattva* and special Buddhistic outlook and terminology, we find that their contents include fables, fairy tales, anecdotes, romantic and adventurous tales, moral stories and sayings, and legends. These have been drawn from the common stock of Indian folklore which is utilised by different religious schools in their own way.

To be distinguished from the *Jātaka* tale is the *Apadāna* story which gives the life of its hero or heroine in one or more births laying stress on their good or bad acts and their concomitant consequences in subsequent births. They are the tales of heroic deeds, namely, the pious and religious acts of men and women. 'An *Apadāna*, like a *Jātaka*, has both "a story of the past" and "a story of the present", but it differs from a *Jātaka* in that the latter refers always to the past life of Buddha, whereas an *Apadāna* deals usually, not always, with that of an *Arhat*'. Many of them are good legends of saints, and some of them are identical with monks and nuns celebrated in the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā*. Usually they are related in the first person. Some of the names are quite historical, and a few of them like *Sāriputta*, *Ānanda*, *Rāhula*, *Khemā*, *Kisāgotamī* are well-known in the Buddhistic hierarchy from other sources. But most of the tales have a mechanical form and contents, and they appear to have been specially framed to glorify some pious act or the other. The great commentators like *Buddhaghosa* and *Dharmapāla* quote plenty of legends both of the *Jātaka* and the *Apadāna* type in their various commentaries², and these constitute an important bulk of Buddhistic narrative tales. The tendency of uphold religious and ascetic ideals is quite patent in all these stories.

(iv) Jaina Literature

(a) *Canonical Stratum*

Turning to Jaina literature, the *Ardhamāgadhī* canon, though recast into its present shape much later, contains undoubtedly old portions which can be assigned quite near to the period of *Mahāvira*, the last *Tīrthakara* of the Jains. We possess in this canon a good bit of narrative portion which is characterised by didactic and edifying outlook. It covers biographies of religious heroes such as *Tīrthakaras* and their ascetic disciples including the *Śālākāpurusas*, explanatory similes, parables and dialogues, and didactic

¹ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, the article on the *Jātaka*, A History of Pāli Literature by B. C. Law (Calcutta 1937), Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

² See for instance, *Buddhist Legends*, by Burlingame in Harvard O. Series, vols. 28-30, Cambridge, Mass., 1921.

and exemplary tales and pattern stories of men and women turning into monks and nuns and attaining better births in the next life

The two texts, *Ācārāṅga* and *Kalpasūtra*¹, give a biography of Mahāvīra vividly describing the hardships which he had to undergo in his monastic life, and *Bhagavati*, in its different dialogues, gives some side-light of Mahāvīra's personality, especially his skill in debates and in offering explanations in reply to the questions of his numerous pupils, male and female. The lives of other Tīrthakaras, narrated in the *Kalpasūtra*, are no biographies at all, but supply the reader with a string of names (*nāmāvalī*) with which perhaps the reciter is to give a detailed account. We get some glimpses of the life of Nemi, Pārśva etc. in other texts also.

What must have been simple similes in the beginning are shaped into narrative pieces with a view to work out the simile in all its details and to deduce a lesson from it for the benefit of pious believers. *Nāyādharmakahāṇo* gives us some good examples. A tortoise is known to be guarded with regard to its limbs, a gourd sinks when covered with mud, and the fruits of Nandī tree are harmful. These ideas are used for the purpose of teaching some lesson or the other, and they illustrate how the unguarded monks suffer, how those loaded with Karmas sink to the bottom of hell, and how those who taste the pleasures of life suffer in the long run. Almost on similar lines parables are elaborated either as a narrative piece or in a lively dialogue, and every detail conveys some lesson. The parable of the Lotus in the *Sūyagadam* is an elaborate piece. There is a great lake full of lotuses in the midst of which stands a grand lotus. Four men from four quarters come there and try to pluck that grand lotus, but they were not successful. A monk, however, succeeds in plucking it even from the bank merely by uttering certain words. The lake is the world, the lotuses, the men, the grand lotus, the king, the four men, the heretics, and the monk is the Jaina saint who, by uttering the true word of faith, wins over the king, and his religion is triumphant. Apart from the intended purpose of the parable, one point is plain to us that religions thrived well under royal patronage which consequently was sought with competition. The parable of four daughters-in-law, in the *Nāyādharmakahāṇo*, is a simple folk-tale skilfully used for religious purpose. A shrewd father-in-law entrusts five grains of rice to his four daughters-in-law with an instruction that they should be returned whenever demanded. The first daughter-in-law is vain and indifferent and throws them away thinking that there is plenty of rice in the granary, and second also thinks alike but swallows them, the third carefully preserves them in her jewel-casket, and the fourth plants them and reaps a rich harvest with the result that she has a large stock of rice at the end of five years. The father-in-law punishes the first two, entrusts the third with the entire property, and hands over the whole management of the household to the fourth. The four women represent the monks, and the grains of rice are the five great vows. Some neglect them, some observe them carefully, while there are some noble monks who not only observe them but also propagate them for the benefit of others. The story of Māyandī princes is a mariners' tale developed into a parable and used to exhort the need of firm faith in religious principles. The *Uttarādhyaṇa* also gives some parables. The parable of the ram (chap VII) brings out the fate of a being fed with worldly pleasures and instructs how human life is the capital with which heaven is to be gained if the capital

¹ For the editions etc. of these texts the readers are referred to *A History of Indian Literature* by Winternitz, Vol II (Calcutta 1933) and *Die Lehre der Jainas* by Schubring (Berlin and Leipzig 1935). For economy of space only essential bibliographical references are given.

is lost, one is born as a denizen of hell or a brute. The leaf of the tree (chap X) discourses on the fleeting character of human pleasures with appealing similes, and repeated warnings are given to the aspirant to be ever vigilant. 'The wicked bullocks' (chap XXVI) is a homely but biting criticism against quarrelsome pupils who are a nuisance to the teacher.

We come across a good number of legendary tales which are illustrative of the good and bad results of the practice of virtues and vices. The characters in the story attain better worlds and even liberation by following the principles preached by Mahāvīra, Pārśva or Nemi, or they go to wretched births and even hell by violating them. Many heretics are shown to have been converted to the creed of Tīrthakaras. Some of these tales are purely Jaina in origin, while others are drawn from the common stock of Indian tales, though used to propagate Jaina virtues, and have their counterparts in Hindu and Buddhist literatures. Many of these legends are connected with famous cycles of tales associated with outstanding personalities like Kṛṣṇa, Brahmadaṭṭa, Śreṇika etc. According to Jainism the virtues of a pious house-holder or lady are necessarily conducive to ascetic life, and a layman, if he steadily follows the steps of religious life, automatically reaches the stage of monastic life. Naturally most of these legends are ascetic in outlook. The Śramaṇic religion, especially Jainism, has laid great stress on asceticism with the result that the Jaina literature gives us some lives of ascetic heroes that passed through exceptional sufferings at the hands of gods, men and lower beings, practised severe penances maintaining the spiritual balance at the critical moment of death, and thus attained a higher status of life in the next birth. It is quite probable that many of them are factual in origin referring to historical ascetics, though the details might have got elaborated in course of time. Sometimes their names are simply referred to, and it is the commentators that supply the necessary details.

Besides the casual references to Śīsupāla, Dvīpāyana, Parāśara etc., the Sūyagadam refers to the story of Ādraka about whom the Niryukti and the commentaries give interesting details. The text shows how he refuted Gośāla, a Buddhist, a Vedāntin and a Hasti-tāpasa. After defeating the opponents he was going to Mahāvīra, an elephant broke the chains and rushed against him, but on approaching him, bent on its knees to salute him. King Śreṇika, who witnessed the scene, wondered how the elephant could break the chains. Ādraka replied that it was still more strange that a man could break the fetters of worldliness. Often we meet with discussions and doctrinal clarification between the pupils of Pārśva and those of Mahāvīra in texts like Uttarādhyayana. More than once pious men and women, such as Śivarāja, Sudarśana, Śamkha, Somila, Jayantī etc., (in the Bhagavati) approach Mahāvīra and get some dogmatical explanation.

There are many stories, definitely didactic, which illustrate the consequences of good and bad deeds. In the Nāyādharmakahāṇ, prince Meha, when he is growing mentally unsteady, is confirmed in his faith in the ascetic life by Mahāvīra who narrates to him how he, in his earlier life as an elephant, had protected a hare by patiently holding up the foot. The merchant Dhanna, who is chained together with the murderer of his son, had to partake meals with him out of sheer physical necessity, similarly the monks should eat food etc., simply to sustain the body, and not to grow strong or to look well, so that they might carry on their religious duties. King Selaga who was converted to the creed of Ariṣṭanemi becomes negligent about his duties being addicted to wine, but is duly enlightened by one of his faithful pupils. The story exhorts the monks to be vigilant about the details of ascetic life. Malli is destined to be born a female as a result of a bit of hypocrisy in the

religious practices in an earlier life, and she teaches her six suitors, the colleagues of a former life, through a golden image with rotten food inside, about the inner hatefulness of her apparently beautiful body and thereby induces them to renounce the world. Finally they all attain liberation. King Jiyasattu was led to the true faith by his minister Subuddhi who demonstrates to him the changeability of all things by the filtration of drinking water from mud. The layman Nanda is born as a frog because of his excessive attachment for the lake and the surrounding accessories of pleasure built by him for the benefit of his fellow-citizens. As such he proceeds to Mahāvīra but is crushed on the way under the foot of Śreṇika's horse and dies with the formula of confession by which he is born as a god. Poṭṭilā, the wife of the minister Teyālputta, enters the order finding that she had lost the affection of her husband. After she is born as a god, she repeatedly tries, according to the previous promise, to enlighten Teyālputta, but he is convinced about the value of renunciation only when he has fallen on bad days after losing king's favour and after attempting to commit suicide. At last he becomes a monk, and converts the king who asks his forgiveness. In the end they attain liberation. Dhammaruī, who eats himself the poisonous food to save the life of ants, becomes a god and subsequently attains liberation, while Nāgasiri, who offered that food, becomes sick and poor. She is reborn as Sukumāliyā who becomes a nun not being liked by her suitors. The sight of a harlot enkindles her passion, and she entertains a hankering for love-satisfaction in the next life. She becomes first a harlot of the gods, is born subsequently as princess Dovaī and married to all the five Pāndavas. Paumanābha, the king of Avarakamkā, on account of the mischief of Nārada, robs her, but was conquered by Kanha Vāsudeva who takes her back to her five husbands. After paying respects to Aristanemi and practising severe penances in due course, the five Pāndava monks and Dovaī attain liberation. Cīlāya, a robber, kidnaps Sumsumā but suffers a good deal as he has to run away simply cutting her head and taking it with him; in the same manner suffer those monks who are addicted to physical pleasures. The father Dhanna and his sons, who were pursuing the thief, feed themselves on the headless trunk of Sumsumā just to save their life, similarly the monks and nuns are to eat food etc., merely to sustain their body and enable themselves to carry out their ascetic duties. Such monks finish their journey safely like Dhanna and his sons. The layman king Pundarīka allows his brother Kandarīka to enter the order and tries to help him to continue as a monk when he is sick and ailing. A second time he is not successful, so they interchange their places. Kandarīka finds the pleasures of royalty to be painful and goes to hell after death, while Pundarīka becomes a worthy monk and attains liberation. The lesson of the story is quite apparent that monks should follow Pundarīka's example. All these stories have some lesson or the other for devoted monks.

The Uvāsagadasāo presents ten narratives which are pattern-stories, glorifying the lay-followers that are an example for others. They are all put as contemporaries of Mahāvīra who prescribes the elaborate vows following which they attain liberation in due course. Ānanda is a model Uvāsaga who acquires Avadhī-jñāna by practising the vows and observances. Kāmadeva, Cūlanīpiya, Surādeva and Cullasayaya stick to their vows in spite of external temptations and threats even when life was in danger, when relatives were persecuted, and when their health and possessions were at stake. Kuṇḍakoliya is firm in his faith and could not be tempted to the creed of Gosāla. Saddālaputta is converted from the Ājīvika faith to the creed of Mahāvīra; and it was not possible for Gosāla to win him back. Mahāsayaya was a pious house-holder, his vicious wife tried to tempt him, but was consequently cursed by him that she should be born in hell, Mahāvīra told him to repent

and confess for his curse which he did, and attained liberation in due course Nandīpīya and Sālihipīya are pious householders that attain liberation duly These stories are moulded in such a pattern that it is possible to multiply them to any number by simply changing the names etc the purpose is the same, though the names and a few other details differ Dadhapañña appears to be a symbolical name for a soul that has developed firm faith and thus attains liberation his biography is found both in the Uvavāya and Rāyapaseṇajja

Taking into account the stereotyped plan of narration and the division into Vargas, we can group together the second Śrutaskandha of Nāyādharmakāhā, Antagaḍa-, Anuttarovavāya-dasāo and the Nirayāvaliyāo which comprises the last five Upāṅgas In the second section of Nāyā, it is expected of the reciter to elaborate from the skeleton, proper names and catchwords of the story 206 stories of which that of Kālī alone is given in full They are all meant to explain how certain goddesses came to have their positions on account of their religious practices in earlier births Kālī, for instance, hears the preachings of Pārśva and becomes a nun under the guidance of Pupphacūlā As expected of her, she is not indifferent to the body, but is much attached to the toilet and has to go out of the Gaṇa consequently She practises fasts etc, and is born as a goddess She comes to Mahāvīra to honour him, and he narrates to Gautama about her future fate

The stories in the Antagaḍa-dasāo fall into two divisions according as they are associated with the age of Ariththa-Nemi and Kanha Vāsudeva or Mahāvīra and Seniya These ninety-two lessons give us tales of men and women who put an end to Samsāra and attain liberation after conforming to the creed of Tirthakaras One feels overwhelmed by the idea that men and women even from royal families are getting themselves initiated into the order the call of spiritual freedom is demanding a sort of religious recruit on a grand scale and thus swelling the ranks of ascetic legions A few stories are given in full and the rest are to be mechanically multiplied The story of Gayasukumāla is a typical ascetic tale illustrating penancial heroism and forbearance The six male children of Devakī were transferred, through the divine courtesy of Harinegamesī, to the lap of Sulasā and had entered the ascetic order When Devakī was pining that no son was with her and even Kṛṣṇa visited her after six months, Kṛṣṇa obtained a boon by propitiating that very deity whereby Gayasukumāla was born to her Despite persuasion to the contrary, the prince entered the order to the offence of his father-in-law Somila who felt that his daughter was neglected by him in her prime of youth One day when he was practising penance on the burial ground, Somila, in a mood of revenge, prepared an earthen basin on his head and poured burning charcoal there The young monk patiently bore the pangs, successfully destroyed the Karman and attained liberation Somila, however, died a premature death at the sight of Kṛṣṇa This text supplies us with the information about the destruction of Dvārakā and the Yādava clan The story of Mudgarapāṇi taking the cudgel against the vagabonds that were ill-treating his devotees, the gardener Arjunaka and his wife Bandhumatī, is a fine piece of folk-tale to make people devoted to the village deities, but the fact that Mudgarapāṇi is helpless against pious Sudarsana only shows how it is used to establish the superiority of Mahāvīra's followers Arjuna is converted to the creed of Mahāvīra, as a monk he patiently puts up with all insults and pains, and at last by his penances he attains liberation The tale of prince Atimuktaka only shows how spiritual problems induced youths to enter the order of monks and have them solved by finally attaining liberation through penancial discipline.

The Anuttarovavāīya-dasāo illustrates the stories of persons who attained highest heavenly mansions by practising penances. That of Dhanna is a typical story and shows how fasts played an important part in the discipline of ascetic life.

The Nirayāvalīyāo gives us a graphic description of the birth of Kūṇiya, the son of Seniya by his wife Cellaṇā, who wanted to eat the flesh of her husband during the period of her pregnancy-longing, and somehow her step-son managed to fulfil her desire. She feared that the issue would be a bane to the dynasty, and in fact she tried to do away with the child but without success. As foreseen by her, Kūṇiya really grew into a wicked prince. He wanted to capture his father's throne during his life-time by putting him into prison, and he tried to wrest from his brother Vehalla the paternal gift to him of a necklace and an elephant. Vehalla, however, sought shelter with his maternal grand-father Cetaka who made alliance with nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis to defend the just cause of Vehalla against Kūṇiya and his ten step-brothers. In the great battle that ensued Kūṇiya and his ten brothers died and went to the Hemābha hell. The Kappiyā continues the narratives of the sons of Kāla and others who entered the order under Māhāvira and attained various heavens as a result of their religious practices. The Pupphiyā narrates the story of Angai of Sāvattihī who was initiated into the order by Pārśva and who was consequently born as a moon in the lunar region as a result of his monastic discipline. The next interesting story is that of Somila, the learned Brahmin, who was almost converted by Pārśva, but he grows slack, adopts Brahmanic ways of life by planting trees etc., and becomes a Disāpokkhiya monk. A god, however, enlightened him, he resumed Jaina vows, and after severe penances he became Śukra planet and would attain liberation in due course. Subhadrā yearned for children, but she had none. She became first a lay woman and then a nun in the Jaina church, but her longing for children remained and she began to fondle the children of others. Though banished from the monastic congregation, she remained a nun but continued nursing children. Consequently she was born as an attendant-goddess Bahuputrikā. In the next birth she was born as Somā, was married to a Brahmin Rāstrakūta and had sixteen twins within sixteen years. She got disgusted with this life, entered the order, and in due course attained liberation. The Pupphacūlā narrates stories of ladies who were good disciples of the nun Pupphacūlā and secured heavenly status. Bhūtā, for instance, was a pupil of Pārśva and was admitted to the order of nuns. She had a fancy for washing everything with water against monastic rules. As a result of this, she first reached only the heaven and then attained liberation later in the Mahāvīdeha country. The Vanhidasāo gives stories of twelve Vṛṣṇi, princes, the sons of Baladeva. The glories attained by prince Nisadha, the disciple of Nemi, are explained by a reference to his past life as prince Vīrāṅgada who practised penance for fortyfive years, was subsequently born in heaven and then became Nisadha. As to his future, he would become a monk, go to heaven and then later attain liberation.

The Vivāgasuyam, as its title indicates, gives narratives to illustrate the unhappy and happy consequences of wicked and pious acts. The first section gives ten stories illustrating the fruits of wicked acts, while the second gives only one story about good deeds and the remaining stories are to be mechanically narrated. Ikkāi, the district officer, was cruel and oppressed people with heavy taxes etc., as a result of this he suffered incurable diseases in this life and was born as Miyaṇputta, of foul constitution, in the next birth. Passing through various lives of beasts and birds, he would be born as a merchant-prince;

he adopts Jaina vows, becomes a monk, and goes to heaven, and at last he attains liberation. The hunter Bhīma killed many beasts to satisfy the pregnancy-longing of his wife for flesh and wine. She gave birth to a child, Gottāsaya by name, that grew into a wicked hunter, excessively addicted to flesh and wine. In the next life he was born as Ujjhataka, a despicable boy, who proved to be a curse to the family, was given to vices like gambling, woman and wine, and was ordered to the gallows by the king as a punishment for his debauchery. Subsequently he would pass through various worldly and hellish births, then go to heaven from the birth of a merchant-prince where he acquires right knowledge, and thereafter he would get liberation. Ninnaya was a cruel dealer in eggs of which he enjoyed several dishes. This sin led him to hell, and thence he was born as Abhaggasena, a tyrant and oppressive robber, who was a nuisance to the surrounding territory. King Mahābala, finding that it was not easy to defeat Abhagga, invited him cordially for a feast, and then, closing the city-gates, ordered his execution. After wandering long in Samsāra, Abhagga would be born as a man, enter the order and finally attain liberation. A shepherd Chaniya by name killed several animals and enjoyed and sold dishes of meat. This sin led him to hell, and thence he was born as a son Sagada to Bhaddā who had lost many of her children. After the child-birth, the family fell on evil days, Sagada grew vicious and debauchorous, and became attached to Sudarśanā, a kept mistress of the minister. He was dragged before the king who gave him capital punishment by making him embrace a red hot female statue. Mahāvīra prophesied that Sagada and Sudarśanā would be later born as twins and would live as husband and wife. Consequently he would go to hell and pass through a series of births. As a merchant-prince he would enter the ascetic order and finally attain liberation. The royal priest Mahesaradatta celebrated human sacrifices so that the king's enemies might be destroyed. This sin took him to hell whence he was reborn as Bahassaiddatta, the family priest, with free access to the royal harem. On account of his vicious relation with the queen, the king ordered him to be impaled publicly. Mahāvīra predicted that his soul would pass through various lower births, become a human being, practise asceticism and finally attain liberation. Dujjhana was a cruel jailor that inflicted manifold tortures on the convicts. He went to hell and was thence born as prince Nandivardhana who tried to murder his father Sīridāma through a barber but was detected and ordered to be executed. Mahāvīra foretells that he would migrate like Ujjhīyaya and attain liberation. The physician Dhanvantari enjoyed and prescribed meat-preparations, and this sin led his soul to hell. Thence he was born as a merchant-prince Umbaradatta. He proved a bane to the family, and wandered in the town suffering from several diseases simultaneously. Mahāvīra prophesied that his future fate would be similar to that of Mīyāputta. The cook Sīriya employed hunters, fowlers and fishermen to catch animals, birds and fish, and enjoyed and sold meat-dishes. In the subsequent birth, he was born as the fisherman Soriyadatta. Not only he sold fish to the public but also enjoyed fish-preparations. He suffered terribly on account of a fish-bone sticking in his throat. His future career, Mahāvīra said, would be like that of Mīyāputta. King Sīhaseṇa burnt alive his 499 queens and their mothers who conspired against the life of Sāmā, his favourite queen. By this sin he was destined to go to hell whence he was born as a beautiful daughter Devadattā. She was married to Pūsanandi who was very much attached to his mother. She did not like this and killed the mother-in-law with a hot iron bar. The king ordered Devadattā to be impaled. Her future career would be like that of Mīyāputta. The courtesan Pūdhavīsī seduced many persons of different status in life. As a result of this sin, she went to hell and was further reborn as a beautiful girl.

Añjū. She became a queen but suffered a lot on account of her vaginal pain which was incurable. Her future career, Mahāvīra prophesied, would be like that of Devadattā. The second section deals with the fruit of pious acts. The pious layman Sumuha received the monk Sudatta with pure and plenty of food. Consequently he had his journey of Samsāra shortened and was subsequently born as prince Subāhu of magnificent fortune. He received vows under Mahāvīra. Later on he would study scriptures, practise austerities, go to heaven and subsequently attain liberation. With the difference in names, the remaining stories are similar to that of Subāhu.

The didactic tone of these stories is apparent. They want to give lessons in good behaviour both to monks and householders or to nuns and house-ladies. The pictures of the past and future and the horrors of transmigratory circuit warn the believer to tread the path of piety, even if he has erred, there is a better future for him, and he should follow the instructions of a teacher like Mahāvīra. Asceticism is a sovereign remedy against all the ills of this and next life. The sins enumerated and professions condemned give a fine glimpse of the ethical code which Jainism has always insisted upon.

The appeal to ascetic sentiments is worked out in a vigorous poetic background in some of the stories of the Uttarādhyayana. King Nemi enters the order of monks after refuting the arguments of Indra guised as a Brahmin who wanted to test his faith (chap. IX). The legend of Hariṣeṭṭi sets aside the traditional value of sacrifice, and self-control and penance are held in great reverence (chap. XII). The story of Citta and Sambhūta (chap. XIII) belongs to the great cycle of tales about king Brahmadatta, and is a common property of Jaina, Buddhistic and Hindu works.¹ King Brambhādatta goes to hell, while the monk Citta attains liberation. This again conveys the superiority of ascetic values (chap. XIII). The chapter Usuyāriṃjam pleads so strongly for monastic values that it leads to a group-renunciation on the part of the king, queen and others. Ariṣṭanemi's renunciation with compassion towards the victims of the wedding-feast, Rājimati's devotion to him and her consequent retirement, her eloquent chastisement of wavering Rathanemi who was enlightened by her, and the attainment of liberation after severe penances—the chapter Rahanemiṃjam (XXII), which nicely depicts these events, is a brilliant piece of ascetic poetry. The chapter Samjāiṃjam (XVIII) gives some idea of the early capital of Jaina legends about ascetic heroes—some of the names of these outstanding persons are known to us from other sources. The list includes twelve Cakravartins, four Pratyekabuddhas and other kings like Udāyana, Kāśīrāja, Vijaya and Mahābala. Some of the legends like that of Miyaṃputta (chap. XIX) give a nice occasion for the text to present a good deal of didactic instruction, moral exhortation and dogmatic details.

Coming to the Pañnas, some of them are full of references to stories about pious persons and ascetic heroes.² There was a nun Pupphacūlā at Poyaṇapura, her religious preceptor was Anniyāutta, while crossing the river Ganges he was thrown off from the boat, and he died piously and attained the highest object (S. 56-57). Amayaghosa of Kāyandī abdicated the throne for his son and toured all over the earth practising religion after mastering the scripture, when he returned to the metropolis, Caṇḍavega wounded

¹ See Charpentier's Intro, pp. 44 etc., and Notes, pp. 327 etc., of his ed. of the Uttarā, Uppsala 1922.

² Taking into consideration the crucial names, an attempt is made here to arrange them alphabetically. The references are to the Āgamodaya Samiti ed., Bombay 1927. See also Über die vom Sterbefasten handelnden altern Pañna des Jaina-Kanons by Kurt von Kamptz, Hamburg 1929. In this section Bh = Bhatta-parinnā, M = Maraṇasamāhi, S = Samthāraga.

his body, and when his limbs were being cut, he died and attained the highest object (S 76-78) Avanti Sukumāla of Ujjayani heard one evening the description of Nalinī-vimāna, was reminded of heaven, entered the ascetic order, and sat in steady meditation under a bamboo grove in a lonely corner of the cemetery His body was being dragged and bitten piteously by a carnivorous jackal for three days He was indifferent, firm like the mountain and tolerated the agony When he died piously and attained the highest object, gods showered scented water with flowers, and to this day we have the pond Gandhavaṭi there (Bh 160, M 435-39 and S 65-66) Ilāputta is an example of non-attachment for the world (M 483) King Vesamanadāsa of Kunāla had a heretical minister Rūṭha by name There was a learned preceptor Usahasena who had a well-read pupil in Sīhasena Being defeated in a debate, that cruel Rūṭha set Usahasena on fire one evening as he was being burnt, he died piously and attained the highest object (S 81-84) Kandariya and Pundariya,¹ who were destined respectively for lower and upper births, go to Anuttara region by their firm attitude for a day (M 637) Even after staying with friends, the soul is all alone when quitting the body like Kaṇha at the time of his death Kanha had conquered anger by forbearance (M 377, 496-97)² The monk Kattiya (the son of king Aggī), physically dirty yet endowed with virtues, when he was wandering for food in the town of Rohidaya, was struck with a javelin by Kuṇṇa Enduring that agony he quitted the body piously and attained the highest object (S 67-69, Bh 160A noted by Kamptz) The monk Kālavesiya, the son of Jīyasattu of Mathurā, is said to have been eaten by a jackal in his illness on the mount Moggalla (M 498) Kidhī, the son of a householder, felt happy after abstaining from theft (Bh 106) Kisi is well-known for his forbearance even when he did not get food (M 497) The merchant Kuberadatta, full of infatuation as he was, could not distinguish, like Vesiyāna, with whom to unite or not to unite, and had criminal intimacy with his daughter (Bh 113) In the town of Kumbhārakada there were five hundred monks, namely, Khandaya and his pupils, endowed with ascetic virtues All of them, except one, were crushed under a wheel (or in a machine) They suffered peacefully, continuing their meditation and bearing no ill will, died piously and attained the highest object (M 443, 495, S 58-60) The young monk Kurudatta, while meditating with a religious vow in the forest, was burnt at Gajapura and consequently attained the highest object (M 492, S 85) A monk, though free from attachment and penance-worn, degrades himself by the company of women like that saint who dwelt in the house of Kosā (Bh 128) Gangadatta, Vissabhūi and Candapīṅgala supply good illustrations of anger, hatred and infatuation (Bh 137) Possibly there were two Gayasukumālas the first had his body burnt by his father-in-law on the cemetery³, he tolerated the burning sensation and did not swerve from his religious practices (M 431-32, 492) The second one was pinned to the ground like wet skin with hundreds of nails, and he died piously (S 87) The king Candavadimsaya was steady and firm in the hour of his death and thus achieved his object (M 440-1) In the town of Pādaliṭṭha, that famous Cānakya abstained from preliminary sins, and submitted himself to Ingini-marana Getting due respect and vanquishing the enemy, he had his body burnt (?) When he was observing Prāyopagamana in a cowpen, the cow-dung cakes were set on fire by cruel Subandhu (or Subuddhi); he remained firm, though burnt, and

¹ Cf Nāyādharmakathā XX and see above, p 21

² Cf Antagaḍadasāo, 5th Varga, para 81

³ Cf Antagaḍadasāo, 3rd Varga.

attained the highest object (Bh. 162, M 478, S 73-75) Cīlāiputta was a pious monk endowed with ascetic virtues, by the smell of blood ants swarmed on him and began to bite his head, his body was rendered porous like a sieve, though he was bitten thus, he bore no ill will, and thus attained knowledge and the highest object (Bh 88, M 427-30, S 86) The king Java was saved from death by a portion of verse, and he became a successful monk then what to say of the efficacy of the Sūtras preached by Jina (Bh 87)? That devotee of Parivṛājakas (Harivāhana by name) offered hot food to a recluse in a pot placed on the back of a pious banker Jīnadhamma of Kāñcanapura¹ The hot pot took out a patch of flesh etc Disgusted with the world the banker became a monk He abstained from all food and stood facing each direction for one fortnight His wound was annoyed further by birds, worms etc, but he tolerated all that quietly taking that to be the fruit of his Karmas and less troublesome than the tortures of hell At the end of two months he fell dead paying respects to Jinas (M 412-423) Desire for pleasures degrades one, while indifference to the same rescues one from Samsāra the two brothers (Jinapāliya and Jinarakkhiya)² who met a goddess and a god (on an island) are an illustration in this context (Bh 147) Danda was endowed with ascetic virtues, when he stood practising some penance, he was pierced with arrows, being concentrated on the words of Jina, he was indifferent to the body, he endured the pain, and attained the highest object (M 465, S 61-62) One who is heretical and hates the saints suffers terribly here like that Datta of Turumini (Bh 62, M 491?) The devotion unto Jina results into happiness and birth in a good family like that Daddura³ of Rāyagiha who was formerly Maniyāraseththi (Bh 75) The saint Damadanta, though blamed and praised by Kauravas and Pāndavas, maintained the attitude of equality (M 442) Devarai, the king of Sākeya, lost his kingdom and its pleasures, and was thrown into the river by his queen who was attached to a lame man (Bh 122) The two monks, Dhanna and Sālibhadda, that were endowed with penancial glory, submitted themselves to Prāyopagamana on a pair of stone-slabs near Vebhāra mountain in the vicinity of Nālandā, they had no attachment for their bodies which withered with cold and heat, and they reached Anuttara region, through divine grace their bone-heaps can be marked out even to this day (M 443-48) At Pādaliiputta of Candayagutta, there was one Dhammasiha who abandoned Candasiri and adopted religious life at Kallāūra, he practised Grdhra-prstha⁴ Pratyākhyāna peacefully, he was indifferent to the body though eaten by thousands of worms, and consequently he attained the highest object (S 70-72) Nanda, Paraśurāma, Pāndurārya and Lobhananda perished on account of anger, vanity, treachery and greed respectively (Bh 153) Five members of a family at Ayalaggāma, viz, Surai, Saya, Deva, Samana and Subhadda, humbly waited upon a monk, Khamaga by name, who was penance-worn, and accepted from him the vows of a house-holder after hearing his discourses on Punya and Pāpa Later they entered the ascetic order in the religious regime of Vāsupūjya They practised various severe penances and were born in the Aparājita-vimāna Thence they were born as the victorious sons of Pāṇdu in the Bhārata country Hearing the sad news of Kṛṣṇa's death, they got themselves admitted to the order under the monk Suthiya The eldest mastered fourteen and the rest eleven Pūrvas,

¹ See the story of Saṅkumāra given by Nemicandra in his commentary on the Uttarādhyayana, XVII, gāthā 37, pp 239-40 of Śrī-Uttarādhyayanāni, Bombay 1937

² Cf Nayādharmakahāṇ, chap IX, p 18 above, the story of Māyandi princes

³ Nāyādharmma, chap XIII

⁴ This is one of the seventeen types of death

and they became famous all over the world They came to Suratt̥ha, and hearing about the Nirvāṇa of Jina [Nemi], they adopted fast Bhīma practised rigorous austerities, adopted Prāyopagamana on the mount Śatrumjaya, tolerated every trouble, and reached Parinirvāṇa. The rest of them also followed him (M 449-64) Even a Pāṇa (i.e., cāṇḍāla) could get divine attendance, when fallen in a crocodile pond, by virtue of his having observed the vow of Ahimsā only for a day (Bh 96) There should not be any attachment, even for a second, towards kinsmen and relatives, because it is they that become enemies like that mother in the case of Brambhaddatta (M 376) The pupils of the Arhat [Mahāvira] were burnt by Mankhalī¹ with his penancial lustre, being thus burnt, they attained the highest object (S 88) The queen Mīyāvai destroys within a moment the Karman of her past lives by Vandana and other rites (Bh 50) Possession or attachment is dangerous the saint Meyajja, along with the Krauñca bird (?), was oppressed by a house-holder when the wealth was really taken by his son² Out of sheer compassion he did not expose the Krauñca bird which was a culprit, and when his eyes were pierced, he remained firm like the Mandara mountain (Bh 133, M 425-6) That wicked Menṭha, who was sent to the gallows for theft, offered salutation to the Jina [at the moment of his death] and was born as a Yakṣa, Kamaladala by name (Bh 78) Thirty-two members of the club Lalīyaghada at Kosambī faced courageously the flood of the river, submitted themselves to Prāyopagamana and attained the highest object (S 79-80, M 480?) The saint Vairarīsī had a band of five hundred pupils, he stood courageously in the sun on a slab of stone performing his penance, tender as he was, his body melted as it were like a lump of ghee, the place where he was worshipped by gods is known as Rahāvattagiri, and the mountain where Indra honoured him became famous as Kuñjarāvatta (M 468-73) A single lie vitiates many truthful words by telling a lie but once Vasu went to hell (Bh 101) The fourth sovereign [Sanamkumāra] suffered from sixteen diseases for a period of seven thousand years, but he tolerated all of them (M 410-11) After a fast for four months, on the day of fast-breaking, when he was steady in his vow and while he was coming down the mount, the saint Sukosala was strangled by this mother, now born as a tigress, at Cittakūda on the Muggillagiri, he tolerated patiently all that and attained the highest object (Bh 161, M 466-67, S 63-64) The ignorant cow-boy uttered piously the Namaskāra-mantra, and was born consequently as a merchant-prince Sudamsana at Campā (Bh 81) The monks from the low caste, Somadatta etc., of Kosambī, were thrown into the sea when they had submitted themselves to Prāyopagamana (M 493) Due to pure Samyaktva, i.e., Right faith, though not accompanied by conduct, Harikulaprabhu, Śrenika and others were destined to be born as Tirthakaras (Bh 67) Sodāsa suffered being a slave of taste, and the king Somāliya, of the sense of contact (Bh 145-6)

The above survey is partial and does not include all the references from the Pañnas There are some Kathānakas which are anonymously introduced (M 424, 510 etc.), and there are others which give some names without sufficient details (M 433) I have tried to note the contents of the verses with utmost caution, because it is difficult to interpret them without already having a close acquaintance with the Kathānakas In some cases it is hard even to spot the proper names A story from the Diṭṭhivāya has been summarised (M 512-520), but the crucial names are not properly indicated To illustrate how different Parisahas or hardships, of which we get an account in the Uttarādhyayana, chap II (M.

¹ Cf. Bhagavati, Śataka XV

² Possibly there are two versions of the same story

484), were endured by the ascetic heroes of the past, various names are mentioned, but the text gives very few biographical details (M 485-503 etc)

This bird's-eye-view of the narrative sections from the Ardha-māgadhi canon reveals to us certain broad traits. The legends are associated mainly with three Tirthakaras, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra the majority with Mahāvīra and minimum with Pārśva. In all the legends connected with Nemi, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva figures quite prominently, and they get closely linked with what we call Harivamśa. The tales belonging to the age of Mahāvīra give good many details about contemporary dynasties and kings. Though they are didactic in spirit, it is quite apparent that some characters are historical persons. As remarked above, some legends are specifically Jaina, while some are special editions of common Indian legends with ethico-religious bias of Jainism.

Some evidence is preserved in the canon itself as to how these pattern-stories etc, were kept in traditional memory. Almost all of them stand at present in prose, but in some places the series of names are put in the form of a verse. Further Uvāsagadasāo gives a few verses which must have served a good aid to memory of the teachers who gave the stories in details when the occasion arose. The commentaries on the texts like the Nāyādhammakahāo give pithy verses summarising and explaining the motive of the stories. It is difficult to say whether these verses are the later summaries of the present texts or the texts themselves have such verses at their basis. Though the first alternative is not altogether excluded, I feel inclined to accept the second alternative as a general rule. The entire narrative of the Samarāiccakahā was presented by Haribhadra on the basis of a few verses which too have come down to us. Such verses do presuppose stories in oral tradition, but they themselves lie at the basis of the written compositions available at present.

b) *Post- and Pro-canonical strata etc*

The next stratum of Jaina literature, which deserves special attention in the survey of early narrative tale, is represented by Nijjuttis¹ that are something like commentaries which not only explain a few topics connected with the text with which they are associated by the application (*ni-yuj*) of Anuyoga-dvāras etc, but also supplement the information by giving the accessory details. There are Nijjuttis on ten canonical texts. Some independent Niryuktis like the Pinda-, Ogha- and Ārādhana- are there the first two appear to be the supplements of Daśavaikālika- and Āvaśyaka-niryukti, while the last is known only from a reference², and it appears probable that it might have been absorbed in texts like the Bhagavati Ārādhana, Maranasamāhi³ etc. More than once the legendary environments of a certain discourse are given by the Niryukti for instance, it is the Niryukti that gives details about Ādraka (in the Sūyagadam) who held a debate with Gosāla etc, as noted above. The Niryuktis themselves have many significant contexts and references.

¹ On the Niryuktis the following sources may be studied. Leumann Daśavaikālikāsūtra and Niryukti, ZDMG, 46, pp 581-663, and Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literature, Hamburg 1934, Ghatage The Daśavaikālika-, and Sūtrakṛtāṅga-niryukti, Indian H Quarterly, vol XI, 4 and vol XII, 2, Charpentier Intro, pp 48-52, of Uttaraḍhyayana, Uppsala 1922, Chaturavijayaji Anekānta III, pp 678-684.

² Mūlācāra V 82, p 233, ed Māṇikachandra D J Granthamālā No 18, Bombay Saṃvat 1977.

³ The concluding gāthās of Marāṇasamāhi are very significant and interesting. This work has inherited ideas, and possibly verses also, from eight earlier texts. 1) Marāṇa-vibhatti, 2) Marāṇa-viśohi, 3) Marāṇa-samāhi, 4) Samlehaṇāsuya, 5) Bhatta-pariṇpā, 6) Āurapaccakkhāpa, 7) Mahāpaccakkhāpa, and 8) Ārā-hapāpaṇṇa.

which necessitated the subsequent Cūrṇīs, Bhāṣyas and Tikās to give elaborate Kathānakas for a clear and full explanation. A few examples may be noted. The Uttarādhyayana-niryukti refers to Dhanamitra, Hastimitra, Svapnabhadrā etc., to illustrate how bravely they faced different *pariśahas* which are twenty-two in number, similar stories are found in other contexts too. Daśavaikālīka-nī, in course of the exposition of Udāharaṇa, gives important references (verse 61 etc.) which presuppose, if not written, at least oral Kathānakas. In other contexts (verses 77, 81, 87, 162, 239 etc.) either proper names are mentioned or significant catch-words are given which become meaningful only when the legends are added in details. Even the Nandisūtra gives certain verses, perhaps of a traditional nature, which enumerate illustrative terms *sela-ghana* etc., to characterise good and bad pupils, and these have occasioned elaborate stories. As yet we have no clear idea about the early sources of these Kathānakas. It appears from certain references that some Kathānakas were present in the Drstivāda, which is lost now, and the details of such a Kathānaka of an elephant are mentioned in the Maranasamāhi Paṇṇa (verses 512-20). The Āvaśyaka-nī is a pretty important text, or at least it has been given that importance by some of the extensive commentaries written by celebrated authors. The text affords many occasions for introducing Kathānakas, say in applying Anuyogas, in illustrating Buddhis, in the context of correct reading of the text etc.¹ Consequently the Cūrṇī, Bhāṣya and Tikā have been replete with Kathānakas, both in Prākṛit and Sanskrit, and the total bulk of these stories is of staggering magnitude.² Leumann has already summarised the stories on the Daśavaikālīka-nī and edited separately a few stories from the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī and Haribhadra's Tikā.³ Besides consistently giving a complete account of the stories already referred to in the canonical texts, the commentators like Haribhadra, Śīlāṅka, Śāntyācārya, Devendra, Malayagiri and Abhayadeva have not only drawn upon earlier commentaries but also on extraneous literature with the result that their commentaries have become repositories of Jaina tales of varied length and various interests. In this context mention may be made of Uvaśamālā, a poem in 540 Prākṛit verses, attributed to Dharmadāsa who is claimed to be a contemporary of Mahāvīra. Critical scholars are not ready to assign such an antiquity to this text. Apart from the didactic remarks in pithy and concise expression, this work is a rich mine of legendary references many of which are already met with in the Paṇṇas. It is often quoted and has been subjected to good many commentaries since 9th century A.D. as far as we know. The work looks like a compilation, and the basic verses may go back to an earlier stratum of Jaina literature corresponding to Nijjuttis and Paṇṇas.

The Digambaras have not accepted the present Ardhamāgadhi canon to be authoritative for them. Though the early canon is lost, the Digambara tradition has preserved the lists of canonical texts with their sub-divisions, if any, and contents. It is interesting to compare them with those given in the Nandisūtra and with the classification of the Ardhamāgadhi canon as it is current today. The absence of the Upāṅga division both in the Nandisūtra enumeration and the Digambara classification and certain common details indicate the genuineness of the Digambara tradition which is earlier than the Valabhī Council. According to the Digambara tradition, Jñātrdharmakathā or Nāyādhammakahāo

¹ Śrī-Viśeṣāvaśyaka, with Gujarati translation, parts 1-2, Āgamodayasamiti, Bombay 1924-7, pp. I, 509, II, 513 etc.

² The volumes of Bṛhatkalpasūtra, five of which are already out (Bhavanagar 1933-38), are rich in illustrative narratives.

³ Daśavaikālīka-sūtra and -niryukti ZDMG, 46, Leipzig 1892. Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen, Leipzig 1897.

narrates various Ākhyānas and Upākhyānas, Antayada describes Namī, Rāmaputra etc ; and Anuttaropapādikadaśā or Anuttaradasā contains narratives about Ṛsidāsa, Dhanya, Sunaksatra, Kārtika, Nanda, Nandana, Śālibhadra, Abhaya, Vārisena, Cūlātaputra etc¹ Stories about some of them are available in the present Ardhamāgadhi canon, but in the absence of early texts it is not possible to say what the Dīgambara stories were like. Perhaps the only available fragments of the Dīgambara canon lie at the basis of those three big commentaries which, in their final shape, are known by the names Dhavalā, Jayadhavalā and Mahādhavalā². The portions, so far published, are comparatively small, and the context being purely technical, one is not in a position to have any idea of the Kathānakas, if found at all, in these works. Some of the illustrative stories, such as those which classify and characterise the pupils, are also found here. The next stratum of the early Dīgambara literature consists of the works of Kundakunda, Yatīrsabha, Vattakera and Śivārya. Among the works attributed to Kundakunda, the Nirvānakāṇḍa is a formula of recitation which enumerates many celebrities in the Jaina tradition with the places of liberation, and salutations are offered to them. It gives a good idea of the early capital of Jaina mythology and of the personalities held in reverence by the Jainas. The Bhāvapāhuda refers to certain personages who suffered on account of some blemish in their bhāva or spiritual temperament³. Bāhubali's spiritual progress was hindered by his vanity, even though he had no attachment for his body. On account of Nidāna, the saint Madhupīṅga could not be a monk, and the saint Vasīṣṭha suffered misery (44-46). Bāhu, though a Jaina monk, burnt the town of Dandaka due to internal hatred and fell into the Raurava-hell, so also Dīpāyana, though a monk in appearance but devoid of real merits, wandered in infinite Samsāra (49-50). Śivakumāra, though encircled by young ladies, could put an end to Samsāra because of his heroic and pure mind. Bhavyasena could not be a Bhāvasaṁnana (i.e., an ascetic with bhāva), even though he had learnt 12 Angas and 14 Pūrvas, nay the whole of the scriptural knowledge, while Śivabhūti, whose bhāva was pure, attained omniscience by simply uttering *tusa-māsa* (51-3). Even the fish Śālisikṭha, due to impurity of mind, fell into a great hell (86). To illustrate that mere knowledge devoid of Śīla does not pave the path to higher worlds, the Śīlapāhuda quotes the instance of Surattaputta⁴ who, though knowing ten Pūrvas, went to hell (30). The Tiloyapannatti⁵ of Yatīrsabha gives all the basic details that have constituted, in later works, the biographies of 63 Śālākāpurusas. Similar details are found in the Āvaśyaka-bhāṣya etc. The Mūlācāra of Vattakera records (II 86-7) that Mahendradatta killed women like Kanakalatā, Nāgalatā, Vidyullatā and Kundalatā and also men like Sāgaraka, Vallabhaka, Kuladatta and Vardhamānaka on the same day in the town of Mithilā. On this verse the commentator Vasunandī has not given any details of the story, but simply remarks *kathānikā cātra vyākhyeyā āgamopadeśāt*. Then to illustrate how alms were procured by certain monks through anger,

¹ See Prākṛit Śrutabhakti, Pūjyapāda's Sarvārthasiddhi on the Tattvārthasūtra I 20, and Akalanka's Rājavārtika on the same, Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama with Dhavalā (Amraoti 1939) vol I, pp 96 etc, Gommatasāra, Jīvakāṇḍa (Bombay 1916) pp 134 etc

² Prof Hiralal has fully compared the details about the Dṛṣṭivāda available in the Dīgambara and Śvetāmbara texts in his Introduction, pp 41-68, to Dhavalā, vol II (Amraoti 1940)

³ Upadhye Pravacanasāra (Bombay 1935), Intro, p 33

⁴ The Sanskrit Chāyā, supplied possibly by the editor, equates this name with Sātyakīputra

⁵ A portion of this was tentatively edited by me (Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah 1941, first printed in the Jaina Siddhānta Bhāṣakara and then separately issued). Now it is again being reedited by me and it is in the Press. The text is accompanied by a Hindi translation

vanity, decent and greed, the text refers to some stories associated with the towns of Hatthikappa¹, Venāyada, Vānārasī and Rāsiyāṇa. Vasunandī has not given any details, but merely remarks *atra kathā utprekṣya vācyā itī*. In the next verse (VI 36) Yaśodhara is mentioned as a typical Dānapati. The Bhagavati Ārādhana of Śivārya, though it deals mainly with the ascetic discipline on the eve of a monk's death, contains many legendary references which are already developed, as we shall see below, into Kathānakas collected in the Kathākośas of Harisena, Prabhācandra etc. The text refers to many eminent personalities who deserve to be remembered on account of their religious piety, sinful acts and ascetic heroism or forbearance with their consequences here and elsewhere². Many of the names are common with the Pañnas, and some of them are mentioned in almost identical verses.

On account of almost identical contents dealing with monastic life, common verses showing minor changes of verbal and dialectal nature, and similar method of exposition and presentation, the conclusion appears to be inevitable that texts like the Bhagavati Ārādhana, Mūlācāra, Nijjuttis (like Āvassaya, Pinda etc.) and Pañnas (like the Marana-samāhī, Bhattaparinnā etc.), in some portions at least, go back to a common source that was once accepted as authoritative both by the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. The dialectal and verbal differences rule out the possibility of mutual borrowing at a later date after the texts were fixed in writing, in fact, they clearly indicate how the same verse, without the contents being affected, has been subjected to minor changes in course of oral transmission. The preservation of identical broad outlines of contents only goes to confirm the authenticity of the early Jaina tradition and the fidelity with which it has been handed down to this day. Behind the differences, elaborated in later days, between the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, a dispassionate study reveals a solid and common background of Jaina tradition: ascetic ideals are fundamentally the same in spirit, and the same ascetic heroes are celebrated by them.

Among the early Digambara Śrāvākācāras, The Ratnakarandaka of Samantabhadra mentions Añjanacora³, Anantamatī, Uddāyana, Revatī, Jinendrabhaktā, Vārisena, Viṣṇu and Vajra to illustrate how the eight limbs of Samyaktva, *nīḥṣaṅkā* etc., were worthily possessed by them respectively (I 19-20). Then Mātanga, Dhanadeva, Vārisena, Nīlī and Jaya are known for their perfect observance of the five Anuvratas, and Dhanaśrī, Satyaghosa, Tāpasa, Āraksaka and Śmaśru-ṇavanita are noted for their five sins (III 18-9). Lastly, the names of Śrisena, Vrsabhasena and Kaundeśa are mentioned as typical donors (IV 28). Vasunandī in his Uvāsayaṃjhayana⁴ illustrates the eight Angas of Samyaktva with almost the same names as those given by Samantabhadra: he gives Jinadatta for Jinendrabhaktā and in addition mentions the names of their towns also (verse Nos 52-5). Vasunandī illustrates the consequences of the seven Vyasanās by appealing to the following stories. Due to gambling the king Yudhiṣṭhira lost his kingdom and had to dwell in the forest for a period of twelve years, Yādavas perished by drinking foul wine when they were

¹ Jitakalpabhāṣya (Ahmedabad Sam 1994) mentions an illustration of Khamaga of Hatthikappa but more details are not given (gāthās 1395 etc.)

² These facts are noted in more details later.

³ The Yaśastīlakacampū (Śaka 881), 6th Āśvāsa, also gives these stories. The Dharmāmṛta (in Kannada) of Nayasena (A D 1112) gives stories associated with Samyaktva, Vratas etc.

⁴ I have used an edition which gives Prakṛit text and Hindi translation. The face page is gone, possibly it was published from Devaband by Babu Surajabhan Vakil.

thirsty while sporting in the garden, the demon Baka of Ekacakra, being addicted to flesh-eating, lost his kingdom and went to hell after death; that intelligent Cārudatta, because of his contact with a prostitute, lost his wealth and suffered a good deal in the foreign country, the sovereign Brahmadatta went to hell on account of his sin of hunting, because he repudiated a deposit, Śrībhūti was punished and he wandered miserably in Samsāra; the lord of Lankā, though a semi-sovereign and a king of Vidyādhara, went to hell, because he kidnapped another's wife, and Rudradatta of Sāketa, being addicted to all the seven Vyasanās, went to hell and wandered long in Samsāra (verse Nos. 125-33)

These texts by themselves give very little information about these names, and it is for the commentators to supply the details. Prabhācandra, for instance, has given the stories to make the references of the Ratnakaraṇḍaka intelligible. Most of these stories, it is clear, are moral lessons, some of them are found in later Kathākośas, and the fate of the heroes and heroines in the story leaves a definite imprint on the pious readers. If they suffer by their sins, the reader is expected to abstain from similar acts, and if they reach happiness by their pious acts, the reader becomes a confirmed believer in those virtues.

A thorough study of the extensive Jaina Kathānaka or narrative literature alone would help us to identify the stories and get more details about the names casually mentioned in the wide range of early Jaina literature some specimens of which have been passingly surveyed above. This much is certain that no writer would refer to names like this unless he has definite stories in view either in oral tradition or in written records. The fact that some stories have been traced with the necessary details means that further studies are needed to connect these names with the well-established tales.

c) *Later Tendencies and Types*

After taking this passing survey of the narrative elements in early Jaina literature, it is possible to take stock, with typical examples, of the growth of subsequent Jaina narrative literature from the earlier seeds. We are concerned more with the types and their broad traits than with detailed particulars about each work.

The material for the lives of 63 Śālākāpuruṣas (24 Tīrthankaras, 12 Cakravartins, 9 Baladevas, 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas) is found partly in the Kalpasūtra and, in its basic elements, in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya as we have seen above. These lives have assumed a definite pattern, though the extent of details and descriptions etc., differ from author to author. It appears that some earlier works, like that of Kavi-Parameśvara, have not come down to us, but the works of Jinasena-Gunabhadra and Hemacandra in Sanskrit, those of Śilācārya and Bhadrēśvara in Prākṛit, of Puṣpadanta in Apabhraṃśa, of Cāmundarāya in Kannaḍa and the Śrīpurāṇa of an anonymous author in Tamiḷa are available besides the minor compositions of Āśādhara, Haṣṭimalla etc. On account of their cosmographical and dogmatic details, intervening stories and moral preachings, they are worthily classed among the eminent Purāṇas and held in great authority.

In the second type we have the biographies of individual Tīrthankaras and other celebrated personalities of their times. We have seen how Nirvāṇakāṇḍa offers salutations to many an eminent soul commemorated in later literature. Most of the available biographies of Tīrthankaras, whether in Prākṛit, Sanskrit, Kannaḍa or Tamiḷa, admit the traditional

details, but present them in an ornate style following the models of classical Kāvya in Sanskrit the lives of Supārśva and Mahāvira depicted by Lakṣmanagaṇī¹ and Guṇacandra in Prākṛit, those of Dharmanātha and Candraprabha in Sanskrit by Haricandra and Viranandi, and those of Ādinātha, Ajita and Śānti in Kannada by Pampa, Ranna and Honna are good examples. Jaina tradition puts Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as contemporaries of Munisuvrata and Neminātha, and there are many works giving the Jaina version of the Indian legends about Rāma and Kṛṣṇa or cycles of tales associated with them. The Pāṇinīya of Vimala and the Padmacarita of Ravisena, even after making concession for the Jaina background and outlook, do give original and important traits of the Rāma-legend, though they do not conceal their acquaintance with Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. Due to the introduction of Vidyādhara and their feats, these texts give a pleasant reading like a fairy tale in many portions. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva figures in Jaina literature quite prominently. The Ardhamāgadhī canon gives good bits of information about him and his clan, he is an outstanding hero of his age, but the traces of deification, so overwhelmingly patent in the Mahābhārata, are conspicuously absent throughout these references. In early Jaina works Pāṇavas are not as important as they appear to be in the Mahābhārata, and Kṛṣṇa, though not a divinity, is a brave and noble Kṣatriya hero. Perhaps this represents an earlier stage in the evolution of the Pāṇava legend which, in its enlarged and sectarian form, is available to us in the present-day Mahābhārata. The Vasudevacarita attributed to Bhadrabāhu has not come down to us, but the Vasudevahindī of Sanghadāsa, describing the peregrinations of Vasudeva and representing a fine Jaina counterpart of the Brhatkathā of Guṇādhyā, is a memorable storehouse of a lot of heroic legends, popular stories, edifying narratives extended over many births, and sectarian and didactic tales. Many of the Ākhyānas, such as those of Cārudatta, Agadadatta, Pippalāda, Sagara princes, Nārada, Parvata, Vasu, Saṇamkumāra etc., which are so popularly repeated in later literature, are already there in the Vasudevahindī nearly in the same form. The stories like that of Kadārapīṅga, who is well-known as a voluptuous character, can be traced back to this text, the motive remains the same, though the names associated with the story are different. The Harivaṃśapurāṇa of Jinaseṇa in Sanskrit and that of Dhavala in Apabhraṃśa share a good deal of common ground with the Vasudevahindī. Jinaseṇa's text, it is remarkable, presents many details which can be more fittingly relegated to a work dealing with the lives of 63 Śālākāpuruṣas. Under this type may be included hundreds of Jaina works, in prose or poetry, in various languages. Some of them deal with the lives of individual religious heroes such as Jīvandhara, Yaśodhara, Karakandu, Nāgākumāra and Śrīpāla, then there are edifying tales of pious house-holders and ladies that devoted their life to the observance of certain vows and religious practices, there are short biographies of ascetic heroes well-known in early literature, and lastly, there are tales of retribution, illustrating the rewards of good and bad acts here and elsewhere. What matter in these stories are the motives and the doctrinal preachings. Some heroes are drawn from earlier literature, some from popular legends, and some names may be even imaginary. The setting, however, given to all these is legendary. This category includes many Kathās, Ākhyānas and Caritras in Sanskrit, Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa, their authors mind only the narration of the events and their style is epical. There are some notable examples like the Gadyacintāmaṇi, Tilakamañjarī, Yaśastilakacampū etc., which are fine specimens of high poetic ability and ornate expression. It is an essential qualification of a Jaina monk that he should be able to narrate various stories,

¹ He narrates a number of sub-stories illustrating the fruits of Saṃyaktva and of the Aticāras of twelve vows, and they almost eclipse the main current of the narrative.

naturally many Jainā monks, gifted with poetic inclinations, have richly contributed to this branch

The third type marks an interesting path in Indian literature it is the religious tale presented in a romantic form The Tarangavatī of Pādalīpta in Prākṛit is lost, but its later epitome the Taraṅgalolā, shows that it might have possessed engrossing literary qualities Then there is the Samarāiccakahā which is a magnificent prose romance composed by the poetic and literary genius of Haribhadra almost from a string of traditional names to illustrate how Nidāna or remunerative hankering involves the soul into long Samsāra The Upamitibhavaprapaṅcā kathā of Siddharsī is an elaborate allegory worked out with much skill and care, and can be put under this type Sometimes imaginary tales have been made an excuse for attacking the other religions, their doctrines and mythology This tendency is explicitly seen as early as the Vasudevahindī, but the ways adopted there are straightforward Haribhadra's Dhūrtākhyāna and the Dharmaparīkṣās of Hariseṇa, Amitagatī and Vṛttavilāsa have shown how skilfully the incredible legends of Hindu mythology could be ridiculed through an imaginary tale

The fourth type is represented by semi-historical Prabandhas etc After lord Mahāvīra, there flourished patriarchs, remarkable saints, outstanding authors, royal patrons and merchant-princes who served the cause of Jainā church in different contexts and centuries The succeeding generations of teachers have not allowed all these to fall into oblivion We see how Nandīsūtra offers salutations to eminent patriarchs, Harivamśa and Kathāvali mention the various teachers after Mahāvīra, and the hymns like the Rśmandala enumerate the names of saints all these elements have given rise to a large mass of literature in later centuries, and the Paṛśistaparvan, Prabhāvakacarita and Prabandhacintāmaṇi are the typical examples It is true that the historian has to glean out facts from their legendary associations Like the great teachers, the Jainā holy places also are glorified in works like the Tīrthakalpa

The last type is represented by compilations of stories or the Kathākośas We have seen how some of the canonical texts, Niryuktis, Paṇnas, Ārādhana texts etc, refer to illustrative and didactic stories, exemplary legends and ascetic tales Other texts like the Uvaesamālā, Upadesapada etc, do continue this tendency This required the commentators to supply these stories in full sometimes older Prākṛit stories are preserved in Sanskrit commentaries, and at times the commentators themselves wrote these stories, based on earlier material, in Sanskrit either in prose or verse or in a mixed style This has made some of the commentaries huge repositories of tales, and we know how rich in stories are the various commentaries on the Āvaśyaka, Uttārādhyayana etc These stories have got a definite moral purpose to be propagated, and as such teachers and preachers could use them independently, without any specific context, throughout their discourses There have been the Jainā recensions like the Pañcākhyāna which were the forerunners of the Pañcatantra This gradually led to small and big compilations of Kathās which could be conveniently used as source-books for constant reference Many teachers could narrate them in their own way keeping intact, as far as possible, the purpose and the frame of the story Consequently we have today in Jainā collections a large number of Mss called Kathākośas Many of them are anonymous compositions, and very few of them are critically inspected in comparison with others of that class Works like the Kumārapālāpratibodha are nothing but collections of stories meant for a specific purpose Individual stories from these collections are available separately also As distinguished from

these didactic tales, there are some stories associated with Vratas or the religious and ritualistic practices, and a good tale is composed to glorify the fruit of Vratas and the persons who achieved it. In later days they have lost all literary flavour and become mechanical and prosaic narratives which are often preserved in collections also.

In all the above types of works, excepting some of the semi-historical Prabandhas, certain traits specially attract our attention, because they are not quite normal and not found in such an abundance in other branches of Indian literature. Pages after pages are devoted to the past and future lives, and the vigilant and omnipotent law of Karman meticulously records their pious and impious deeds whose consequences no one can escape. Whenever there is an opportunity, religious exhortations are introduced with dogmatical details and didactic discourses. The tendency of introducing stories-in-stories is so prevalent that a careful reader alone can keep in mind the different threads of the story. Illustrative tales are added here and there, being usually drawn from folktales and beast-fables, and at all the contexts the author shows remarkable insight into the workings of human mind. The spirit of asceticism is writ large throughout the text, and almost as a rule every hero retires from the world to attain better status in the next life.

3 COMPILATIONS OF KATHĀNAKAS A SURVEY

In various Bhandāras we come across a large number of Mss. which are collections of stories, and their names are available to us from catalogues like the *Brhattippanikā*,¹ *Jaina Granthāvalī*² and *Jīnaratnakośa*³. The last work is the most up-to-date and exhaustive *Catalogus Catalogorum* so studiously prepared by Prof. H. D. Velankar. The following list is mainly based on that work, the advance-forms of which, thanks to the kindness of the Author and Publishers, I have been allowed to use. Without a thorough examination of the Mss. it is difficult to distinguish one *Kathākośa* from the other, so I have noted specially those works which could be mutually distinguished and about which some specific information could be noted afresh.

Kathākośa (*Kathānakakosa* or *Kathākośa-prakaranam*) It is in Prākṛit containing 239 *gāthās* according to the *Brhattippanikā*. In the opening *gāthā* the author declares that he would preach some *Nāyas*, illustrations or exemplary tales, which are the cause of liberation. The verses only mention the stories with catchwords; sometimes stories more than one are associated with a certain illustration. The fourth *gāthā*, for instance, says that the soul earns heavenly bliss even by *pūjā-pranidhāna* (desire for or thought about *Pūjā* or worship) like *Jinadatta*, *Sūrasenā*, *Śrīmālī* and *Roranārī*. In the first 17 *gāthās*, which portion alone is studied by me, the stories refer to *Jinapūjā* and *Sādhudāna*.⁴ The Sanskrit commentary on these *gāthās* gives the illustrative stories in Prākṛit, the presentation being an admixture of prose and verse. Prof. Jinavijaya informs me that *Jineśvara-sūri*, the pupil of *Vardhamāna-sūri*, himself has composed the *gāthās* as well as the stories in

¹ *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka* vol. II, part 2

² Published by the Jaina Śvetāmbara Conference, Bombay Samvat 1965

³ To be published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4

⁴ One *Kathākośa* is attributed to *Haribhadra* (*Jaina Sāhityano Itihāsa* p. 168), but it has not come to light as yet.

their present form, though it is not unlikely that he might have incorporated earlier material.¹ He quotes canonical passages and stray verses in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhramśa²

Kathākośa It is a collection of 27 tales (beginning with the story of Dhanada and ending with that of Nala) illustrating the fruits of worship and other pious duties and religious virtues, the effects of four passions and the consequences of ascetic observances³ According to Tawney's estimate, these stories are genuine fragments of Indian folk-lore, but they have been edited by some Jaina theologian for the purpose of the edification of the votaries of that religion, and they are, in their present form at any rate, intended to illustrate the tenets and practice of Jainism It is written in Sanskrit interspersed with Prākṛit gāthās The name of the author is not known, nor can we assign any definite date to this work Three names of kings, Karka, Arikesarin and Mammana, mentioned in this work, are traceable to the royal dynasties of Karnāṭaka in the 10th and 11th centuries A D, and from these references Dr Saletore⁴ observes thus 'it may not be unreasonable to conclude that the work may have been composed after the last quarter of the eleventh century A D'

Kathākośa (Kathāratnakōśa) It was composed at Broach in Samvat 1158 (-57=1101 A D), the author being Devabhadra, the pupil of Prasannacandra According to the doctrine of Jina, the path of liberation is sustained by the good monk and the good householder, well-versed in their respective duties A good monk is not possible without his being a good householder he who can practise the partial course of conduct is able to practise the full one To become a good householder one has to be endowed with general (sāmānya) and special (vīśeṣa) virtues the former are 33 in number and refer to right-faith and eight Angas, religious devotion, devoted support of the institutions of the temple and monkhood, and the cultivation of philanthropic, noble and gentlemanly traits of character, the latter comprises 17 virtues referring to the practice of five Anuvratas, seven Śikṣāvratas, some of the Āvaśyakas with Samvarana and renunciation Corresponding to these virtues, exemplary stories are given by this Kathākośa in Prākṛit with stray verses in Sanskrit here and there It is written mostly in verse, there being a few prose passages Religious and didactic instruction through stories is the main purpose of this composition, and they are expected to influence the reader and turn him into a well-behaved householder⁵

Kathākośa (Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-Vṛtti) of Śubhaśīla *Bharaheśvara-Bāhubali* are the opening words of a Prākṛit composition in 13 verses, perhaps a part of daily salutation, enumerating a century of great personalities, 53 men (beginning with Bharata and ending with Meghakumāra) and 47 women (Sulasā to Renā) who have been well-known for their accomplishments in their religio-ascetic duties Most of them are the characters from

¹ Peterson (Reports IV, p. xlv) remarks 'Composed, Samvat 1092, in Āśāpallī a Līlāvatikathā and in Dīpdyānakagrāma a Kathānakakośa' According to Mr Desai (Jaina Sā Itihāsa p. 208), he composed Kathākośa between Samvat 1082-1095 Brhaṭṭippapikā puts Samvat 1108 So this Kathākośa can be assigned to the second quarter of the 11th century Winternitz (HIL p. 543) puts 1092 A D perhaps he mistook Samvat for A D

² The work is in the press at present, and I am thankful to Śrī Jinavijayaji who kindly sent to me thirteen advance formes

³ This Kathākośa is translated into English by C H Tawney, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series II, London 1895

⁴ Jaina Antiquary (Arrah 1938) vol IV, No 3, pp 77-80

⁵ Thanks to Śrī Jinavijayaji who kindly supplied me with a few advance forms (covering 90 folios) of this work which is in the press

the stories and exemplary tales narrated and referred to in early Jaina literature some tract of which is already reviewed above. They are to be met with in texts like the *Sūyagadam*, *Bhagavai*, *Nāyādhammakahāo*, *Antagada*, *Uttarajjhayana*, *Painṇas*, *Āvassaya-* and *Dasa-veyāhiya-nijjuttī* and their commentaries. The *Prākṛit* verses give simply a string of these names, and in the beginning they must have been quite significant to those who were well-versed in the wide range of Jaina literature. Later on, the need of exhaustive commentaries utilising the original sources and giving the stories in details was gradually felt. *Śubha-śīlagani*, the pupil of *Munisundara* of the *Tapāgaccha*, has written a Sanskrit commentary giving the stories in prose and verse interspersed with *Prākṛit* quotations here and there. The *Vṛtti* being entirely made up of stories, it is called *Kathākośa*, and it was composed in *Samvat* 1509¹. *Śubhaśīla* shows a special aptitude for narrative composition. Besides his other works, he has written *Pañcaśatiprabodhasambandha*² which 'contains nearly 600 stories, anecdotes, legends, fables, fairy-tales etc., some of which allude to historical personages, kings and authors of both ancient and modern times, such as *Nanda*, *Śātavāhana*, *Bhartrhari*, *Bhoja*, *Kumārapāla*, *Hemasūri* and others'.

Kathākośa (*Vratākathākośa*) of *Śrutasāgara*³ in Sanskrit. It contains stories about the *Vratas*, religious courses and vows consisting of rituals and fasts, such as *Ākāśapañcamī*, *Mukutasaptamī*, *Candanasasthī*, *Aṣṭāhnikā* etc. The author belonged to *Mūlasangha*, *Sarasvatī-gaccha*, *Balātkāra-gana*, and *Vidyānandi* was his teacher. He has not given his date, but from the external evidence he can be assigned to the 16th century of the *Vikrama* era. He has given a few stories in his Sanskrit commentary on the *Pāhudas* of *Kundakunda*.

Kathākośas ⁴ Some Mss labelled as *Kathākośa* are available in the Government Collection at the Bhandarkar Oriental R. Institute, Poona. No information is available about their authors, nor is it possible to state, at this stage, their source, their literary basis or their connection with other *Kathākośas*. I have casually inspected them just to see what they are like, and I note here a few facts about them. 1) No 1266 of 1884-87, foll 47, incomplete. It opens with a salutation to *Candraprabha*, and gives in Sanskrit the stories of *Ārāmatanaya*, *Harisena-Śrīsenā*, *Jimūtavāhana* etc. 2) No 1267 of 1884-7. This gives the stories which are usually called *Samyaktvakaumudī-kathā*. The opening prose is slightly different and runs thus: *गौडदेशे पाडलीपुरनगरे आर्यमुहस्तिमूरीश्वरा । त्रिषण्डभरताधिपसप्रतिराज्ञोऽग्रे धर्मदेशनां चक्रुरेवं, भो भो भठ्या* etc. The concluding story is that of *Dhanapati* illustrating *Pātradāna*. Though written in Sanskrit, some *Prākṛit* verses are given here and there. 3) No 1268 of 1884-87. This gives stories in *Prākṛit* illustrating the fruits of worship with *Gandha* (by *Śubhamatī* etc.), with *Dhūpa* (by *Vinayamdharma*) etc. The colophons and some portions are in Sanskrit. It is written at *Sārangapura* by *Harsasinghagani*. 4) No 1269 of 1884-87. This Ms is mutilated and very badly written. It gives stories of *Amaracandra* (with reference to *bhūvanā*), of *Vikramāditya* (to illustrate *pāramārthika-maitrī*) etc., in Sanskrit prose and verse. The *Vetālapañcaviṣī* is quoted on p 19, and there are some small stories in *Apabhramśa* and *Old-Gujarātī*. It ends with a fable possibly from the *Pañcatantra*. 5)

¹ It is published in the *Devachand Lalabhāi Pustakodhāra Series*, Nos 77 and 87, Bombay 1932 and 37.

² Peterson's Reports, III, p cxxi, Winternitz HIL, II, p 544, etc.

³ *Premī Jaina Sāhitya aurā Itihāsa*, pp 406-11.

⁴ Various *Ārādhana-kathākośas* will be reviewed later.

No. 582 of 1884-86 There are Sanskrit verses followed by illustrative stories some of which are Prabandhas about Jinaprabhasūri, Jagasimha, Sātavāhana, Jagadūsāha etc. 6) No 583 of 1884-86 It is mutilated on both the sides It is in Sanskrit prose with Sanskrit and Prākṛit quotations, and possibly it contains the stories of the Samyaktva-kaumudī 7) No 1324 of 1891-5 It is mutilated and incomplete There are stories about Prasannacandra, Sulasā, Cūlātīputra etc, in Sanskrit prose mixed with verses 8) No 1323 of 1891-95 In Sanskrit prose mixed with Sk and Pk verses, it gives stories of Devapāla (in connection with Devapūjā), Bāhubali (to illustrate the effect of Māna), Aśokadatta (to illustrate deception), Madanāvali (with reference to sandal-worship) etc Sometimes the stories open with Prākṛit verses No 1297 of 1887-91 also begins like this and some stories too are common The verse *vasahī* etc (No 240) from the Upadeśa-mālā is the basis of some tales 9) No 1322 of 1891-95 The stories of Madanarekhā, Sanatkumāra etc, are given in Sanskrit interspersed with Prākṛit and Apabh verses 10) No 478 of 1884-86 The first three folios give Harisena's Kathakośa Then follows an Apabh work giving Kathās, something like 53 in number, that deal with Vratas like Sugandhadaśamī, Sodasakārana, Ratnāvali (in Sanskrit), Nirdośasaptamī etc There are a few more Kathakośas attributed to the authors like Vardhamāna, Candrakīrti, Simhasūri, Jayatilaka, Sakalakīrti, Padmanandī, Rāmacandra¹ etc, but their Mss have not been accessible to me

Kathānaka-kośa The author is Vinayacandra², and it contains 140 gāthās in Prākṛit. The text gives the name Dhammakkhānaya-kosa The Pattan Ms, which is accompanied by a Sanskrit Vyākhyā, is dated Samvat 1166

Kathāmanī-kośa (Ākhyānamanī-kośa) it is composed in Prākṛit verses by Devendragani, alias Nemicandra, who finished his Sukhabodhā commentary, well-known for its Prākṛit stories³, on the Uttarādhyayana, in Samvat 1129 (1073 A D) Devendra is famous for his lucid style, so the Mss of this bulky work, in 41 chapters, deserve to be studied with reference to the contents A Sanskrit commentary on this work is written by Āmiadeva, the pupil of Jinacandra, in Samvat 1190, just sixty years after the composition of the Kośa⁴

Kathāmahodadhī. The Karpūraprakara⁵ or Sūktāvali of Hari or Harisena is a didactic poem containing 179 Sk verses of lengthy metres, and deals with Jaina religious and moral principles which as enumerated by the author himself are 87 in number It is indeed a rare thing that one is born as a man with religious surroundings, gets the necessary instruction, practises the Jaina virtues by eschewing all internal and external hindrances,

¹ At the Nayā Mandira, Delhi, there is a Punyāsrava-kathakośa in Sanskrit There is a similar work in Kannaḍa composed by Nāgarāja in 1331 A D In all there are 52 stories, illustrating the religious virtues like Puja etc, by narrating the biographies of Bharata, Karakaṇṭha, Yama, Cārudatta, Sukumāra, Sītā etc, and they are divided into twelve Adhikāras It is written in a Campū style, and the author says that it is based on a Sanskrit work (Kavīcarite I, pp 409-12) This Kannaḍa work is translated into Marāṭhī Ovis by Jināsena in Śaka 1743 (+78=1821 A D)

² Catalogue of Mss at Pattan, vol I (Gaekwad's O Series No 76), p 42

³ Some of them are edited by Jacobī in his *Ausgewählte Erzählugen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, Leipzig 1886, and it has been translated into English under the title 'Hindu Tales' by Meyer (London 1909), see also Prākṛta-kathāsamgraha ed by Jinavijayajī, Ahmedabad

⁴ See Charpentier's Intro to his ed of Uttarā (Uppsala 1922), pp 56 etc., also Peterson's Report IV, p. 59 of the Index of authors, Report III, p 78 etc

⁵ The text opens with the words *karpūra-prakara* and hence its name.

and finally gets liberation Every step of this preaching is nicely put and explained with relevant illustrations We are told, for instance, how Neminātha practised Jīva-dayā which led to his spiritual benefit and how Rāvana suffered because of his attachment for another's wife Every verse refers to one or more legends by way of illustration As we come to the close of the book, there are more moral exhortations than legendary references The author Harisena was a pupil of Vajrasena, and the date of composition is not settled as yet

It was left for the commentators to give the stories in all their details, and the number of such tales, short or long, is nearly 150¹ The Kathāmahodadhī, composed in Samvat 1504 by Somacandra, the pupil of Ratnaśekhara, gives all the stories Jinasāgara, the pupil of Śrīvarddhanasūri of the Kharataragaccha, has written a Karpūra-prakara-tikā² The dates available for him are Samvat 1492 to 1520, so he is a contemporary of Somacandra He explains the verses and then gives the illustrative stories, usually in Sanskrit verses, which are often introduced with Prākṛit passages, both in prose and verse, from the canon and works like the Upadeśamālā I have not been able to verify the relation of these stories with those in the Kathāmahodadhī the titles of the stories and their order are the same These illustrations include the tales about Śālākā-purusas like Nemī, Sanatkumāra etc., historical and semi-historical persons like Satyaki, Celanā, Kumārapāla etc., ascetic heroes like Atimuktaka, Gajasukumāra etc., and other pious men and women connected with Jaina tradition

Kathāratnasāgara It contains fifteen Tarangas and the last story is that of Agadadatta The author is Naracandrasūri³, the pupil of Devabhadrasūri The Pattan Ms is dated Samvat 1319

Kathāratnākara It is in Sanskrit, and its author is Uttamarsi The available Ms is incomplete stopping with 2nd Khanda It includes the story of Rukminī to illustrate the effects of Sādhunindā⁴

Kathāratnākara It is composed in Samvat 1657 by Hemaviṣayagani, the pupil of Kamalaviṣaya of the Tapāgaccha As the author remarks, some of the stories are traditionally heard, some are imaginary, some are compiled from other sources, and some are taken from scriptures There are 258 stories distributed over ten Tarangas Most of them are written in simple Sanskrit prose, very few are composed in a heavy style, and only a few are metrical narratives Each story opens with one or more moralising verses which contain the central idea of it Throughout the work, quotations in Sanskrit, Māhārāṣṭrī, Apabhramsa, Old-Hindī and Old-Gujarātī are found in plenty, and some of them are well-known to us from the epics, Bhartṛhari's Śatakas, Pañcatantra etc The Jaina outlook of the work is explicit in some of the opening stanzas, ideas and stories It covers a wide range of ideology from the erotic to the ascetic Winternitz remarks 'Most of the narratives are similar to those in the Pañcatantra and other books of stories of this kind, tales of the artfulness of women, tales of rogues, tales of fools, fables and fairytales, anecdotes of all descriptions, including some which hold up Brahmans and other

¹ For a list of these Kathās see Peterson Reports III, pp 316-19

² Published by the Jaina-Dharmaprasāra-sabha, Bhavnagar 1919, see also the Catalogue of the Bombay Branch of the R A S by H D Velankar, vols III-IV, Nos 1705 and 1798

³ Catalogue of Mss at Pattan, vol I, p 14

⁴ Peterson Reports IV, p 80

holy men to scorn As in the Pañcatantra there are numerous wise sayings interspersed with the tales The tales are, however, loosely strung together, and not inserted into a frame' The work, in its major portion, is really Indian in outlook Besides the names quite usual in Jaina works, we meet with anecdotes connected with Bhoja, Vikrama, Kālidāsa, Śrenika etc Some of the topographical references are quite modern, and stories are associated with towns like Delhi, Champaner and Ahmedabad On the whole the contents are instructive as well as amusing¹

Kathārṇava The Isimandala or the Rṣimandala-stotra of Dharmaghosa (c 13th century A D) is a Prākṛit poem containing 208 to 218 verses offering salutations to Jaina celebrities including Śālākāpurusas and their great contemporaries devoted to religious life, Pratyeka-buddhas, legendary heroes like Jinapālita, ascetic heroes like Metārya, and eminent post-Mahāvira teachers about whom casual biographic details are mentioned Most of them are found in the canonical texts, Nirvyuktis and Prakīrṇakas What appeared like legendary characters from a didactic tale, an edifying story or a narrative parable are treated here almost as ascetic heroes or actual personalities belonging to the Jaina church It was incumbent on the commentators to explain these verses by giving the biographies of persons referred to in the Stotra More than half a dozen Vṛttis are available on this text the Ms of the earliest is dated Samvat 1380 and that of the latest Samvat 1670 Pattan Collection has got a Brhadvṛtti in Prākṛit on this text The Vṛtti of Padmamandira of the Kharataragaccha is called Kathārṇava (-ankā), and it was composed in Samvat 1553 or A D 1496 It explains the verses and gives all the stories in Sanskrit verses usually Anustubh² Some verses of the text (for instance Nos 154-160, opening of the third Amśa) are pronounced by Padmamandira as *parākṛita* or later additions

Kathāvalī This is a huge work in Prākṛit prose written by Bhadrēśvara, and so far there is only one Ms of it at Pattan The date of the Ms is Samvat 139 (the last cipher is broken off) according to Jacobi, but according to Dalal it is Samvat 1497 Dalal assigns Bhadrēśvara to the reign of Karna (1064-94 A D), while Jacobi would identify this author, in all probability, with one Bhadrēśvara in the 2nd half of the 12th century of the Samvat era in any way this work is to be put earlier than the Pañcīstaparvan of Hemachandra It narrates the account of 63 Śālākāpurusas and includes also the lives of eminent teachers from Kālaka down to Haribhadra So far as this second section is concerned Hemachandra stops with Vajrasvāmin while Bhadrēśvara's list comes upto Haribhadra 'The collection of the materials', Jacobi remarks, 'for the whole history of the patriarchates was achieved, probably for the first time, by Bhadrēśvara' whose 'tales are, as a rule, but a more elegant version of the Kathānakas contained in the Cūrnis and Tikās' Having noted some difference regarding the composition between the works of Bhadrēśvara and Hemachandra, Jacobi³ says 'Bhadrēśvara's work has few literary merits It is scarcely more than a collection of disconnected materials for the history of the Śvetāmbara church culled from the

¹ Published by Hiralal Hamsaraja, Jamnagar 1911, translated into German by Hertel, München 1920, also see Winternitz HIL, II, p 545

² See Śrī Rṣimandala-prakaraṇam, Ātmavallabha-granthamālā, No 13, Valad 1939, especially its Introduction, Jaina Granthāvalī, p 175, Catalogue of Mss in Jesalmere Bhandars, p 14, No 126, Baroda 1923, Catalogue of Mss at Pattan vol I, p 118, etc

³ See the Intro to the Sthavirāvalīcarita 2nd ed by Jacobi, Biblio Indica, Calcutta 1932, and Catalogue of Mss at Pattan, vol I, pp 56, 244

ample Literature of Cūrṇis and Tikās The Kathāvali compares unfavourably with the Sthavirāvalicarita by Hemacandra which reads like a connected history of the patriarchy from Jambū down to Vajrasena, told in fluent Sanskrit verses and spirited Kāvya style. No wonder that it superseded the older work to such a degree that for a long time the Kathāvali seemed to be lost, till but lately one single Manuscript was brought to light'.

Kathāsamāsa (Upadeśamālā-) It is already noted above how Uvaesamālā contains many references to religious personalities etc., about whom stories in Prākṛit are given in this work composed by Jinabhadra whose date and identity are still indefinite¹ There are other compilations of these stories in Sanskrit one is by Sarvanandī and another is anonymous² Not only the commentators gave the stories, but it was also usual to compile independent collections of stories referred to in a certain text just as Jinabhadra has done here with regard to the Upadeśamālā The stories connected with the Uttarādhyayana, Śilopadeśamālā, Bhagavatī Ārādhana etc., are also separately compiled³

Kathāsamgraha (also Antara-, or Kathākośa) The author is Rājasekhara Maladhārī, the pupil of Tilakasūri of the Harsapurīyagaccha, who can be assigned to the middle of the 14th century A.D., his Prabandhakosa being composed in Samvat 1405 The stories are written in simple Sanskrit prose, quite in a conversational style, the expression being often contaminated with vernacularisms Sanskrit, Māhārāstri and Apabhramśa verses are profusely quoted throughout Most of the stories are introduced with a verse laying down a maxim, edifying a virtue, preaching a piece of good behaviour or suggesting a way of tactful action, and then the stories follow almost to explain the ideas contained in the opening verses In many cases, the style, format and contents remind us of the Pañcatantra The author has in view a twofold aim in composing this work some 86 stories are primarily meant for instruction, ethical and religious, and the remaining 14 are meant for amusement by their wit and humour The text shows this division, but the contents are not mutually exclusive The topics covered by the illustrative stories include all sorts of worldly wisdom, and some of them definitely bear the stamp of Jaina religion and moral code Though the motives are often handled by others, it is quite likely that most of the stories are imaginary and made to order Some of them are drawn from the popular stock of Indian tales, and a few, like the illustration of Rohaka, have been drawn from the Jaina commentarial literature whose roots go back to Cūrṇis and Bhāsyas The alternative title, Antara-kathā, possibly means that these stories were repeatedly used as illustrative sub-stories, like Upakathās, in a bigger tale⁴

There are a few more Kathāsamgrahas, noted in the Jinaratnakośa, either they are anonymous or we do not know much about their authors etc. 1) KS of Hemācārya 2) KS of Ānandasundara 3) KS of Sarvasundara (Samvat 1510), successor of Gunasundarasūri of the Maladhārigaccha 4) KS, No 1272 of 1884-87 (dated Samvat 1524), contains many short didactic stories in Sanskrit dealing with topics like Jivadayā This is a good sample of collections of stories that were possibly used by monks to illustrate their sermons 5) KS, No 1326 of 1891-95, has much common with the Kathākośa No 1297 of 1887-91,

¹ Catalogue of Mss at Pattan, vol I, p 90

² See Mss Nos 1271 (Bhandarkar V) and 1325 of 1891-95

³ Catalogue of Mss in the Bombay Branch R. A. S. by Velankar (Bombay 1930), Nos 1417, 1703, 1665, and see Ārādhana-kathākośas below

⁴ Śrī-kathākośaḥ, Sūryapura 1937, with useful Indices of quotations etc., there is a Ms in the Bhandarkar O. Research Institute, No 1298 of 1887-91, which shows a different beginning from that of the printed text

and gives stories of Dhanadatta, Nāgadatta, Madanāvali etc , to illustrate the fruits that they got by different Pūjās etc 6) KS, No 1325 of 1891-95 This gives eight tales, in Sanskrit prose, about Kurucandra, Padmākara etc , illustrating the fruits of the gift of residence, bed, seat, food, drink, medicine, clothes and pot to the monk, which are mentioned in the gāthā *vasaḥ-sayanāsana* etc , (No 240) from the Upadeśamālā 7) KS, No 335 of 1871-72 The opening story is that of Vikramāditya, and there are other stories of Śrīpāla etc , illustrating the fruits of Jaina vows and virtues. They are all in Sanskrit with Māhārāstrī and Apabhramśa quotations There is, however, one story in Prākṛit

There are other collections of stories, according to the Jīnaratnakośa, such as Kathā-kallolīnī, Kathāgrantha, Kathādvātrīṃśikā of Paramānanda, Kathāprabandha, Kathāśataka, Kathāsamcaya, Kathāsamuccaya etc Unless the Mss are carefully examined, nothing can be said about their contents and about their identity or otherwise with the Kathākośas noted above

4 ĀRĀDHANĀ AND ĀRĀDHANĀ TALES

1) Ārāadhanā and Ārāadhanā Texts

Ārāadhanā consists in firm and successful accomplishment of ascetic ideals, namely, Faith, Knowledge, Conduct and Penance, that are laid down in Jainism, in maintaining a high standard of detachment, forbearance, self-restraint and mental equipoise at the critical hour of death, and in attaining spiritual purification and liberation¹ The connotation of the term Ārāadhanā covers a wide range of dogmatical and ethico-religious discussion to which small and big texts have been devoted The subject is undoubtedly of immense interest to a monk who wants to win the spiritual battle, naturally both ancient and modern authors have composed works dealing with the Ārāadhanā topics The Mūlācāra, as noted above, refers to the Ārāadhanā-niryukti, but the text has not come down to us Among the ten Painnas, Āurapaccakkhāna, Mahāpaccakkhāna, Bhattaparinnā and Maranasamāhi deal with this topic in its different aspects The Bhagavatī Ārāadhanā is a big work entirely devoted to the discussion about Ārāadhanā It belongs to the earliest stratum of Digambara literature, Painnas and Nijjuttis have much common with it, and undoubtedly they contain much matter that antedates the division of the Jaina church into Digambara and Śvetāmbara Before we take up the study of Bha Ā in more details, we will enumerate here, mainly on the authority of the Jīnaratnakośa, different Ārāadhanā texts with some information about their authors and contents

Ārāadhanā It is composed about Samvat 1629 by Ajitadevasūri, pupil of Maheśvarasūri of the Cāndragaccha²

Ārāadhanā (Śrāvaka-) It is composed in Samvat 1669 by Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra of the Kharataragaccha

Ārāadhanā (Paryanta-). It is written by Somasūri in 70 Prākṛit gāthās, and is often included in the list of Prakīrnakas. It is commented upon by Vinayavijayagaṇi and by Vinayasundaragaṇi (Samvat 1649)

¹ Bhagavatī Ārāadhanā 1-10, Samayasāra 301-5, Marāṇasamāhi 27, 41, 317 etc , Ārāadhanāśāra 1-8

² Desai Jaina Sāhityaṇi Itihāsa, p 585

Ārāḍhanā (Pañcaka-) It is a pretty big text in Prākṛit dealing with fourfold Ārāḍhana.¹

Ārāḍhanā The Jinaratnakośa records a couple of anonymous texts one is in Prākṛit, beginning with *panamiya narinda-devinda-vandīyam*, and the other is composed in Samvat 1592

Ārāḍhanā-kulaka Four texts of this name are recorded The first begins with *āloyanovayāram*, has got 85 gāthās, and is composed by Abhayadevasūri,² the famous commentator who flourished in the middle of the 11th century A D, the second begins with *dānāi-cauvviha* and is also called Samārāḍhanā-kulaka, the third, noted by Peterson, contains 69 gāthās,³ and the fourth contains 17 gāthās and opens with *savvam bhante pānām*

Ārāḍhanāpatākā This contains 990 gāthās and was composed by Virabhadrasūri in Samvat 1078 (*atthuttarime samā-sahassammi*) The author admits his indebtedness to earlier works, and the text contains many gāthās common with Bhattaparinnā, Pindanijjuttī and other works Being a dated work its text and contents deserve a critical comparison with other Ārāḍhāna works

Ārāḍhanā-prakarana There are two texts of this name, one by Yaśoghosa and the other by Somasūri containing 61 gāthās⁴

Ārāḍhanā-mālā (usually called Samvegarangasālā) It is a bulky Prākṛit work which, according to the Jaina Granthāvalī, contains 10053 slokas⁵ It deals with Ārāḍhanā in its four principal and fortythree subsidiary topics Some of the gāthās are written in a fluent style The author is Jinacandrasūri, the pupil of Jinesvarasūri He composed this Mālā at the request of his junior fellow-student (*satīrthya*), Abhayadeva, the famous Vṛttikāra, after collecting the expressions from the Mūlaśruta like a florist picking flowers from a park It was finished in Samvat 1125 (-57=1068 A D) It is said to have been revised by Jinavallabha, the pupil of Abhayadeva The doctrinal discussion includes along with it some illustrative stories as well This work is respectfully mentioned by many authors Some of the significant words from the opening gāthā of the Bhaga Ārāḍhanā appear to be scattered in some of the opening gāthās of this book (Nos 5, 14), secondly, some of the names of the subsidiary topics are common to both the works, and lastly, a gāthā (No 800), which is introduced with the phrase *gurur āha*, is nearly identical with gāthā No 21 from the Bha Ā It is not unlikely, if Jinacandra used Śivakoti's text, but it is premature to be dogmatic on this point From what little I have seen it appears to me, however, that a comparative study of these two works would give interesting results

Ārāḍhanāsāra This Prākṛit text of Devasena, who finished his Darśanasāra in Samvat 990, contains 115 gāthās and deals with fourfold Ārāḍhanā⁶ There is a good Sanskrit commentary on this text by Ratnakīrti who gives a few details about himself in his Prāsaṣṭi His date is not settled, but a critical study of his quotations may help us to put

¹ Catalogue of Mss at Pattan vol I, pp 303, 391 etc

² Peterson Reports IV, p III, etc

³ Reports III, p 24

⁴ Catalogue of Mss at Pattan vol I, p 65

⁵ Jesalmere Catalogue, pp 38, 21 (No 183), only a portion is printed so far in the ed Śrī Samvegarangasālā, part I (gāthās 3053 with Sanskrit Chāyā), Surat 1924

⁶ Māṇikachandra D Jaina Granthamālā, No 6, Bombay Sachvat 1973

an earlier limit for his age After a casual survey I find that he quotes from the Ātmānuśāsana of Guṇabhadra, Samayasāra-kalaśa of Amṛtacandra, Jñānārṇava of Śubhacandra, Sāmāyika of Amitagatī and Ekībhāva of Vādirāja etc

There are many other texts dealing with Ārāḍhanā, but we do not know much about their authors and contents, so I shall simply note their names with scanty details 1) Ārāḍhanāratna by Devabhadra 2) Ārāḍhanāvidhi 3) Ārāḍhanāśāstra of Devabhadra, the pupil of Abhayadeva noted above (possibly identical with -ratna?)¹ 4) Ārāḍhanā-sattari² by Kulaprabha in Prākṛit 5-8) Ārāḍhanāśāstras of Ravicandra, Jayaśekhara, Nāgasena and Lokācārya 9) Ārāḍhanāstava³ (of Amitagatī or Āśādhara?) 10) Ārāḍhanā-svarūpa.

This large number of Ārāḍhanā texts, early and modern, whatever may be their intrinsic value, shows the importance of the doctrines associated with Ārāḍhanā in the life of Jaina monks A detailed and comparative study of these texts would certainly give valuable results

11) Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā

The Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā⁴ is a pretty lengthy text containing nearly 2170 (but Bombay ed., 2166) verses in Prākṛit or more correctly Jaina Śauraseni The commentaries are not in perfect agreement about the original extent Aparājita has some additional gāthās (Nos 151, 343, etc) which are not admitted by Amitagatī and Āśādhara, while there are many gāthās⁵ (Nos 117-9, 178, 1354, 1432, 1556, 1605-7, 1639-40, 1978, 2111, 2135 etc), which are explained by Āśādhara though he specifically mentions that they are not commented upon by Śrīvijaya alias Aparājita Thus the extent of the text is not definite, and a systematic collation of Mss alone would bring all the facts to light Āśādhara divides the whole work into eight Āśvāsas, but it is entirely his own proposal for which there is hardly any sanction either in the basic text or in Aparājita's commentary A careful and continuous study of the gāthās clearly reveals that the whole work has a compact form and that the contents are systematically presented The very nature of the subject-matter, however, is such that sporadic verses may be added or omitted here and there without affecting the frame-work of contents This work is devoted to a detailed exposition of four-fold Ārāḍhanā which a monk must cultivate at least at the critical hour of death if not all through his life

After an introductory discourse on the Ārāḍhanā (Nos 1-24), the text says that there are seventeen kinds of death⁶ of which five would be discussed in this work and the last

¹ Desai Jaina Sāhityaṇi Itihāsa, p. 237

² Peterson Reports III, p. 13

³ See Mūlārāḍhanā (Sholapur 1935), pp. 1865 etc

⁴ There are two editions 1) Bhagavatī Ārāḍhanā in the Anantakīrti D Jaina Granthamālā, 8, Bombay Sam. 1989, the text is accompanied by a Hindī translation and the edition is equipped with a good introduction and an Index of gāthās 2) Mūlārāḍhanā with the Sk commentaries of Aparājita and Āśādhara, the metrical paraphrase of Amitagatī and a modern Hindī translation, Sholapur 1935

⁵ My references are either to the gāthā-numbers or to the pages of the Sholapur edition

⁶ Aparājita has elaborately described them, the details may be compared with those in the Uttarādhyayana-Niryukti which also enumerates and describes these seventeen types (p. 5 of the Ms. No. 1094 of 1887-91, from the Bhandarkar O. R. I., Poona)

three alone are commendable (25-30) i) Bāla-marana (31-53), ii) Bālābāla- (54-63) iii) Paṇḍita- which has three varieties a) Bhaktapratyākhyāna (64-2029), b) Ingūn (2029-2061), and c) Prāyopagamaṇa (2062-77), iv) Bālapaṇḍita- (2077-87) and v) Paṇḍitapaṇḍita- (2087-2159) Then there are the concluding remarks along with the Praśasti of the author (2160-70) The three varieties of the Paṇḍita type have much in common, and all the instructions, which are conducive to the spiritual welfare of the monk, are included under Bhaktapratyākhyāna-section which is treated under forty topics (Nos 64-70), 1) *arha*¹ fitness for adopting the course of Samādhi-marana (71-76), 2) *linga* necessary ascetic emblem such as nudity etc (77-98), 3) *śikṣā* scriptural study (99-111), 4) *vinaya* disciplined devotion to knowledge etc (112-131), 5) *samādhi* concentration of mind (132-141), 6) *anyatavāsa* unsettled residence (142-53), 7) *parināma* dutiful and balanced temperament (154-61), 8) *upādhi-tyāga* minimum paraphernalia (162-70), 9) *śruti* spiritual ascendancy (171-76)², 10) *bhāvanā* cultivation of salutary thoughts (177-204), 11) *sallekhanā* emaciation of body and of passions through external and internal penances etc, (205-70), 12) *disā* proclamation of the spiritual successor (271-5), 13) *kṣamāpanā* apology to the congregation, 14) *anuśāsana* pious instruction (279-83), 15) *paragana-caryā* staying with another ascetic group for Samādhi-marana (384-400), 16) *mārganā* finding out a suitable Nirvāpaka (401-16), 17) *susthita* a worthy teacher endowed with eight specific virtues (417-507), 18) *upasarpana* seeking admission under a Teacher (508-14), 19) *parīksana* test (515), 20) *pratīlekha* reviewing or considering the situation (516-17), 21) *prerchā* inquiry (518), 22) *pratīpsanā* admittance (519-21), 23) *ālocanā* report of the sins committed (522-61), 24) *guna-dosa* defects and merits of the report of sins (562-632), 25) *śayyā* a fitting residence (633-39), 26) *saṁstara* bed (640-7), 27) *niryāpaka* the attendant ascetics that help one at the time of Samādhi-marana (647-88), 28) *prakāśana* showing the food to allay the curiosity (689-95) 29) *hām* gradual abstention from solid food (696-9), 30) *pratyākhyāna* abstention from liquids etc, (700-9), 31) *ksāmanā* offering purificatory apology to the Acārya (710-13) 32) *ksapana* destruction of Karman by Pratikramana etc (714-19), 33) *anuśīsti* instruction by the Acārya etc, on various religious topics and practices, ranging from the relinquishment of Mithyātva upto the practice of austerities (722-3), which are described in details (720-1489), 34) *sārana*=*smārana* reminding him of his status and duty (1490-1508), 35) *kavaca* religious instruction as a protection or armour against Parīśahas etc (1509-1682), 36) *saṁatā* attitude of equality (1683-98), 37) *dhyāna* meditation (1699-1905), 38) *lasyā* spiritual glow or tint (1906-23), 39) *phala* the fruit or the aim of Ārādhana (1924-65), 40) *vijahanā* disposal of the body (1966-2000), and then this section is concluded with a few glorificatory gāthās (2000-29)

This topical analysis gives us not only a definite assurance of the systematic treatment of the subject-matter but also some glimpse of the wide range of contents covered by this work. The discussion about Ārādhana, which plays an important part on the eve of a Jaina monk's life, is carried on with such an exhaustive thoroughness that the book has

¹ The Samvegaraṅgaśālā of Jīvacandrasūri discusses Ārādhana in four primary Dvāras 1) Parīkar māvadhī, 2) Paragana-saṁkramaṇa, 3) Mamatva-vyuccheda, and 4) Samādhi-lābha, each of which is further divided into 15, 10, 9 and 9 Prativdāras respectively. Some of their names are common with those of the topics from the Bhaga Ārādhana. They deserve to be studied in details.

² Compare Jitakalpabhāṣya (Ahmedabad Samvat 1994) gāthā Nos 338-340, this work shows many sections with common ideas found in the Bha Ā

become a valuable mine of Jaina ideology with which a monk must be imbued in order to accomplish a successful ascetic life. On account of its dogmatic details, exposition of the basic principles of Jaina asceticism, practical injunctions about saintly life and the behaviour in details, extensive discourses on the mental, verbal and physical discipline of a monk advising him to follow the beneficial and warning him to abstain from the harmful and religio-didactic exhortations, this Bhagavati Ārāḍhanā presents a rich survey of Jainism, especially with reference to the theory and practice of ascetic life. The section on *anuśiṣṭi* (gāthās 720-1489) is a fine didactic work by itself. Thus, for a Jaina monk, its importance is very great and its study simply indispensable. The systematic exposition of contents in a simple and direct style and with homely similes and illustrations has left such an influence on later Jaina literature that, as far as I recall, many of the subsequent authors like Pūjyapāda, Gunabhadra, Śubhacandra, Amitagatī and other didactic monk-poets have freely drawn their ideas from this work.

The popular name of this work is Bhagavati Ārāḍhanā, but the genuine title, according to the author himself is Ārāḍhanā (No 2166), Bhagavati being only an honorific appellation added by the text to qualify the practice of Ārāḍhanā (Nos 2002-3, 2168). This is borne out by the following facts. Ārāḍhanā-tīkā is the other name given to Śrī-vijayodayā by Aparājita himself, Devasena's compendium is called Ārāḍhanā-sāra, Amitagatī calls his metrical Sanskrit version Ārāḍhanā (No 2245), also Bhagavati Ā, or simply Bhagavati (Nos 2244, 2247), Prabhācandra mentions it as Mūlārāḍhanā in his Kathākośa possibly to distinguish it from Amitagatī's Ārāḍhanā, and lastly Āśādhara also adopts the name Mūlārāḍhanā, because he calls his commentary M-darpana. It must be noted that the sanctity and importance of the Ārāḍhanā have led to its being deified, and both Amitagatī and Āśādhara have glorified and praised the Ārāḍhanādevatā (pp 1853, 1855, 1865 etc). That explains why Bhagavati came to be inseparably associated with the title Ārāḍhanā.

The author's name is Śivārya¹ who qualifies himself as *pāni-dala-bho*, i.e., a monk that ate his food in the cavity of his palms. He studied the scripture under Jinanandī, Sarvagupta and Mitranandī, and composed this Ārāḍhanā depending upon the work or composition of earlier Ācāryas (Nos 2165-6). This is all that we learn about the author from this text. One Jinanandī is mentioned in the Altem copper-plates of c. 488 A.D.,² and one Sarvagupta is casually referred to by Śākatāyana in his Sanskrit grammar (1-3-140), but mere common names are not enough to establish identity between two authors. I am not aware of any epigraphic reference to Śivārya. There is not the least doubt that he is mentioned by Jinasena in his Ādipurāṇa (1-49) and by Śricandra in his Kathākośa (noted below) as Śivakoṭi. The Śravana Belgoḷ inscription, No 105, dated 1398 A.D., mentions one Śivakoṭi who was a pupil of Samantabhadra³ and who ornamented (perhaps with a commentary) the Tattvārthasūtra. It is about this Śivakoṭi a story is already narrated in the Kathākośa of Prabhācandra that he was originally a Śaiva king of Benares, was converted to Jainism by seeing a miraculous transformation of Śivaliṅga into the image of

¹ See also Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa by Pt. Premi, pp 23-40.

² Some doubt is expressed about the date, see IA, VII, pp 209-17, XXIX, pp 273-8, XXX, p 218, etc.

³ According to Hastinalla's remark in his Vikrāntakaurava, Samantabhadra had two pupils, Śivakoṭi and Śivāyana.

Candraprabha, and became a Jaina monk. As a Jaina monk, the story concludes¹, Śivakoṭi mastered the whole range of scriptural knowledge, summarised for the benefit of less intelligent and shortlived people the Ārādhana of Lohācārya, containing 84 thousand verses, into a smaller compass, and composed Mūlārādhana, containing 2500 verses and divided into forty topics such as *arha*, *linga* etc. According to Prabhācandra, Śivakoṭi is identical with Śivārya, he is converted to Jaina faith by Samantabhadra, and he composed Mūlārādhana as a digest of the bigger Ārādhana of Lohācārya. These are extremely interesting bits of information, but we do not know their earlier source. As Prabhācandra's information is not confirmed by the present text of the Bhagavati Ārādhana which at the most admits that it is based on earlier works and as Aparājitasūri also is completely silent on these points, we cannot take it at the value of contemporary evidence and use it for chronological purpose. We have to wait for still earlier sources. Śivakoṭi's commentary on the Tattvārthasūtra has not come to light as yet. The Ratnamālā² is a small didactic text containing 67 anuṣṭubh verses in Sanskrit and dealing mainly with the duties of a Jaina house-holder. The colophon of the printed text attributes it to Śivakoṭi, the pupil of Samantabhadra, and the concluding verse indirectly mentions Śivakoṭi. One Bhattāraka Siddhasena is mentioned (No. 3) earlier than Samantabhadra who is solicited for grace (No. 4), the contents breathe a modern spirit of later age and do not maintain the high ascetic standard of the Mūlārādhana, and lastly it contains a verse (No. 65) closely agreeing with one from the Yaśastilakacampū (part II, p. 373) these facts, taken together, do not induce one to attribute this work to the author of the Bhagavati Ārādhana.

The evidence available for settling the date of Bha. Ā is quite insufficient. A more thorough study of the text in comparison with various other works may help us to put closer limits to the age of this work, at present, however, an attempt may be made to lay down certain broad limits. All that we can definitely assert at present is that this work is earlier than Jināsena's Ādipurāṇa, but there are a few other considerations which shed some light on the early date of this work. 1) The Dīgambara tradition, as recorded by Prabhācandra, certainly admits the remote antiquity of this work by saying that it is based on the Ārādhana of Lohācārya³ and that its author was a contemporary of Samantabhadra, though this is not confirmed by the text itself. 2) It is quite probable that this work includes the missing Ārādhana Niryukti, the ideas and verses which it has in common (with dialectal and minor variations) with Nijjuttī's,⁴ Pañnas⁵, Mūlācāra⁶ etc., definitely

¹ As the text is not printed, I would quote here the relevant extract एतन्महाश्रयं दृष्ट्वा शिवकोटिमहाराजस्य अन्येषां च तत्रत्यल्लोकानां जैनदर्शने महती श्रद्धा। परमविवेकसपन्न चारित्र-मोहक्षयोपशमविशेषवशाच्च परमवैराग्यसपत्नौ राज्यं परित्यज्य तपो गृहीत्वा सकलश्रुतमवगाह्य लोहाचार्य-चरितं चतुरशीतिसहस्रसंख्यामाराधनां मन्दमत्यल्पायु प्राण्यशयवशाद् ग्रन्थतः संक्षिप्य अर्थतोऽहं लिङ्गे इत्यादि चत्वारिंशत्सूत्रैः परिपूर्णमर्धतृतीयसहस्रसंख्या मूलाराधनां कृतवानिति।

² It is printed in the Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, No. 21, Bombay Samvat 1979.

³ Lohācārya is one of the Āṅgadhārins, and according to the Paṭṭāvalis he might be assigned to the first half of the first century B.C.

⁴ Compare the discussion about the seventeen types of death in the Uttarādhyayana-nī and that found in the Bha. Ā, also cf. Bha. Ā No. 32 with a similar verse in that Niryukti.

⁵ Compare Samthāraga Nos. 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 111 and 115 with Bha. Ā Nos. 1561, 1562, 1669, 1670, 1667, 1538 and 108, cf. Bhattaparinnā Nos. 21, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, and 81 with Bha. Ā Nos. 408, 735, 737, 739, 738, 740, 741, 744, 746, 748, 749, 750, 755 and 759, cf. Marāṇasamāhi Nos. 96, 97.

suggest that this text contains matter which antedates the division of the Jaina Church into Digambara and Śvetāmbara; and it substantially represents the traditional verses collected by the Digambara monks who did not recognise the authority of the Ardhamāgadhī canon. *iii)* The section on *vijāhanā*, disposal of the body, prescribes certain practices which have an appearance of antiquity and which became obsolete in course of time. The story of Dhanna and Sālibhadda¹ indicates that similar practices were in vogue and are recognised by the Śvetāmbara canon too. *iv)* The text contains legendary references which breathe the same spirit as those in the Ardhamāgadhī canon, and some of them are expressed in almost identical words². Digambara tradition says that some of these stories were present in the canon which is lost beyond recovery. *v)* This work had the honour of having a Prākṛit commentary: this corresponds to the spirit of the age of Cūṛṇis some of which are available on the texts of the Ardhamāgadhī canon, and this period lies a few centuries earlier than Virasena-Jinasena who not only incorporated Prākṛit Cūṛṇis in their Dhavalā etc., but also began writing in a style mixed with Prākṛit and Sanskrit. *vi)* The method of exposition is mostly simple preaching of dogmas and didactic lessons with popular similes and illustrations, and has not as yet reached the stage of logical arguments and refutation seen in the works of Samantabhadra, Siddhasena and Jinabhadra etc. Some of the discussions bear comparison with those in the Ardhamāgadhī canon. *vii)* Lastly, the Prākṛit dialect shows close affinities with the Ardhamāgadhī canon on the one hand and with the works of Kundakunda etc., on the other, and the commentaries explain certain queer forms as *ārṣa* (pp 108, 1429 etc.). These considerations give an impression that the Bha Ā belongs to the earliest stratum of the pro-canon of the Digambaras consisting of the works of Vattakera, Kundakunda etc. It is quite likely that Śivārya might be senior even to Kundakunda, but we have to await further researches. I have put forth only my suggestions which require to be worked out in details after a more thorough study of the text.

iii) Commentaries on the Bhagavati Ārāḍhanā

In view of its contents, so important for one's guidance in the monastic life, and its antiquity, the Bhagavati Ārāḍhanā is sure to have been subjected to many commentaries³, the earliest of which that has come to light is the Śrīvijayodayā of Aparājitasūri. It is an exhaustive commentary in Sanskrit full of information on ascetic duties and richly interspersed with Prākṛit and Sanskrit quotations, some of the latter possibly composed by

98, 99, 100, 101, 175, 176, 180, 185, 186 and 189 with Bha Ā Nos 538, 539, 540, 543, 546, 547, 206, 207, 248, 256, 257 and 260

¹ Comparing Mūlācāra with Bhaga Ā, I find more than sixty gāthās common. I have incorporated the details in my paper on the Mūlācāra which is awaiting publication, see also the Varṇānukramaṇikā, p 725, of the Bombay ed of Bha Ā, and Anekānta Vol II, No 5 (Obviously I do not agree with the conclusion of Pt Paramanand)

² Marāṇasamāhi 443-48

³ See for instance the references to Avanti-sukumāla, Cāpakka, Cilādaputta, Jama (Java), Devarai, Sukosala etc., are expressed in almost identical verses

⁴ For earlier discussions about the commentaries see the following sources: Premī Anekānta I, 4-5, Intro to the Bombay ed of Bhagavati Ārāḍhanā noted above, and Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa pp 23-40; Jugalkishore Anekānta I 4, II 1, Hiralal Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara (Arrah) V, pp 129-34, Paramanand Anekānta II, 6, 8

the commentator himself¹ He notes alternative readings of the text (pp 225, 342, 489, 598 etc), and more than once he refers to and discusses the views of other commentators (pp 1, 23, 30, 33, 41, 56, 61, 105, 275, 1752, etc),² but their works have not been discovered as yet From the remarks of Āśādhara it is clear that Śrīvijaya was another name of Aparājita Vijaya and Aparājita mean the same, and the name of the commentary, Vijayodayā, possibly implies the author's name It appears from his casual remark (p 1196) that he had written a commentary of this very name on the Daśavaikālika According to the Praśasti, he was a crest-jewel of Ārātiya³ monks, a grand-pupil of Candranandi and Mahākarmaprakṛtyācārya, and a pupil of Baladevasūri He had studied under Nāganandi at whose instance he composed this commentary These facts are too meagre to help us either to settle his date or the place of activity⁴ In some of the inscriptions these names are individually met with, but as they stand isolated, we cannot identify them with those in the Praśasti If it is accepted that Candranandi and Candrakīrti are interchangeable names, then I have in view a group of inscriptions⁵ which mention one Śrīvijaya who had another name Pandita Pārijāta and who could be compared with Hemasena with regard to his learning and austerities He had predecessors Candrakīrti and Karmaprakṛtya by name Śrīvijaya flourished earlier than Āśādhara who finished his commentary on the Anagāradharmāmṛta⁶ in Samvat 1300 (-57=1243 A D) in which there are references to Aparājita (pp 166, 673 etc) Karmaprakṛti is a rare name, and in all probability Śrīvijaya and the inscriptions refer to one and the same monk This would mean that the age of Śrīvijaya is slightly earlier than A D 1077, that being the year of an inscription, even if we hesitate to accept Śrīvijaya's identity⁷ with others of that name Turning to the internal evidence, Aparājita is acquainted with texts like Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Kalpa, Daśavaikālika etc of the Ardhamāgadhī canon (pp 2, 611, 1130, 1196 etc), further he quotes from the works of Kundakunda, the Tattvārthasūtra of Umāsvāti, Svayambhūstotra (No 83) of Samantabhadra (p 1306), Sarvārthasiddhi of Pūjyapāda and the Varāṅgacarita (VII 26, I 13) of Jātula (pp 243, 258, 747) whom I have assigned to the close of the 7th century A D ⁸ This certainly means that Aparājita is later than 7th century Till more definite evidence comes forth, he might be put in the 8th to 10th century

The next exhaustive commentary is the Mūlārādhana-darpana of Āśādhara⁹ who carefully notes the number of gāthās in different sections, though his āśvāsa-division of the text is not quite satisfactory He closely follows Aparājita (p 68 etc) whom he refers to as Śrī-vijaya (-ācārya) and Tīkākāra (pp 797, 1047, 1442, 108, 150, 1043, etc) and whose

¹ It is necessary that these verses should be alphabetically arranged and seen whether any of them are found in the works of Raviṣeṇa, Jināsena, Viranandi, Asaga etc

² These page-numbers refer to the Sholapur ed noted above

³ For the explanation of the primary significance of this word see Sarvārthasiddhi of Pūjyapāda on the T sūtra I 20, and Indranandi's Śrutāvatāra, verse No 84

⁴ Pt Premji's suggestion that Aparājita belonged to the Yapaniyasamgha deserves respectful consideration, but we might wait for some positive and direct proof see Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa pp 41-60

⁵ EC VIII, Nagar Nos 35-37, Tirthahalli No 192, IV, Nagamangal 100, V, Channarayapattana 14^c Belur 17, Arsikere 1, II, No 54 (or No 67, 2nd ed), VI, Kadur 69

⁶ Published in the Mānik D Jaina Granthamālā, No 14, Bombay 1919

⁷ About other Śrīvijayas see Karnāṭaka Kavacarita I, p 13 (Bangalore 1924), S Shrikantha Sastrī on the date of Jambūdvīpaprājñapti, Jaina Antiquary (Arrah 1938) IV, pp 81-84

⁸ Manika D Jaina Granthamālā No 40, Bombay 1938

⁹ About Āśādhara and his works see Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, pp 129-49

commentary he mentions as *Tikā* or *Sanskṛta-tikā* (pp 420, 440, 744, 779 etc) It is quite likely that he has in view some other *Sanskṛta-tikā* than Śrīvijaya (pp 297, 1343, 1746, especially the phrase *iti tikākārau vyācakratuh*) Besides, Āśādhara repeatedly refers to a *Prākṛta-tikā* (pp 643, 744, 763, 779, 1085, 1290, 1632, 1755 etc), but as far as I have seen the name of its author is not mentioned In one or two places Aparājita writes in *Prākṛit* in continuation of his *Sanskṛit* commentary (p 355), and it looks quite likely that he might be reproducing from an earlier *Prākṛit* commentary Āśādhara quotes some *Tippanakas* (pp 779, 1737 etc); and two authors of these *Tippanakas*, Jayanandī (pp 1755-6) and Śrīcandra (pp 773, 793, 1834), are specifically mentioned by him More than once he takes cognizance of anonymous views (pp 1021, 1632 etc) Amitagatī's metrical *Ārādhana* in *Sanskṛit* is already there before him (pp 339, 392, 528, 1333 etc), some of his quotations, however, which closely agree with the *gāthās* of Śivārya but differ from Amitagatī's rendering, indicate the possibility that there was another metrical *Ārādhana* in *Sanskṛit* (pp 84, 397, 473, 485, 575, 1021, 1037, 1045, 1747 etc) Of chronological interest are some of his quotations from the *Tattvānuśāsana* (Nos 89-95) of Rāmasena (pp 1534-35) and *Jñānārṇava* (p 1690) There is a quotation on p 1093 from *Siddhyanka*, i.e., the *Bharatesvarābhya* of Āśādhara himself, of which no Ms has come to light as yet, and texts like *Siddhāntaratnamālā* (p 1195), *Vidagdhapṛitī-vardhanī* (p 1291), from which he quotes, are new names of works which are still to be discovered It is true that he quotes verses (V 4, IV 150 etc) from his *Dharmāmṛta* (*Anagāra*-) in this commentary (pp 445, 1176), but in his *Sanskṛit* commentary on that work he not only refers to *Mūlārādhana-darpaṇa* but takes over also lengthy passages from it even with some irrelevant sentences¹ A comparative study of both the commentaries, in all the details, is necessary to settle their mutual relation

There are two other small commentaries, *Ārādhana-pañjikā* of an unknown author and *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* of Manijidaruna (Samvat 1818), the Mss of which, though not fully studied as yet, have come to light According to the *Jinaratnaśāstra*, one more *Tikā* of Nandigani is reported, but no Ms of it has come to light so far

iv) Kathākośas Associated with the Bha Ārādhana

The commentarial activities, so far reviewed are quite worthy of the importance of the contents of the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana* which must have been studied and interpreted in different ascetic circles by eminent monks as a part of their daily study and for the benefit of the *Ārādhaka* The text itself tells us that the attending monks narrate in a sweet and attractive manner various tales to the departing *Ārādhaka* on the eve of his life, they avoid the *Vikathās*, but address him with those stories that make him mentally firm and disgusted with worldly life (*gāthās* Nos 651, 653-55 etc) Major portion of this text is such that it can be conveniently read to the *Ārādhaka* at the time of his *Samādhi-marana*, and consequently there are *gāthās* in this work which contain references to didactic, legendary, edificatory and ascetic tales about which all the details are not given As in the case of *Niryuktis* and canonical texts like the *Uttarādhyaṇa*, we should expect the commentators to give these stories in full drawing their material from earlier literature and oral tradition From the comparative study, set forth below, it is abundantly clear that the stories in the

¹ See *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* pp 166, 672-75 and *Bha Ārādhana* pp 616-17, etc

Kathākośas of Harisena etc., are meant serially to illustrate the gāthās of the Bha Ārādhana; and Śricandra's Kathākośa quotes the gāthās in many cases, and then gives the stories. These stories contain quite significant verses which show their connection with the Ārādhana, and being, among themselves, mutually disconnected, one is driven to admit that they might have originally formed a part and parcel of some commentary or the other on the Bha Ārādhana before they came to be separately compiled by authors like Harisena and Prabhācandra who have not altogether concealed their relation with the Ārādhana. It was expected that Aparājita and Āśādhara should have included these stories in their commentaries, but to our disappointment they have not done so. Between the two, it is only Āśādhara that gives a few remarks, here and there, on these gāthās. This neglect on their part indicates that either they were indifferent to this aspect of the contents or by their time the Kathākośas were so usual that they did not like to repeat them in their commentaries. It is unfortunate that they simply pass over these references without giving adequate information and referring the reader to the required sources. Āśādhara however, has left a crucial remark (p. 643) which is extremely significant

अतिदुर्लभत्वे दशा दृष्टान्ता सूत्रेऽनुश्रूयन्ते—

चुल्लय पासं धणं जूवा रदणाणि सुमिण चक्रं वा । कुम्भं जुग परमाणुं दस दिट्ठंता मणुय-लंभे ॥

पते चुल्लीभोजनद्विधासप्रदाया दशापि प्राकृतटीकादिषु विस्तरेणोक्ता प्रतिपत्तव्या ।

Āśādhara, we have seen, repeatedly refers to a Prākṛit commentary, and this remark plainly says that the ten stories, corresponding to Nos. 35-44 in the Kathākośa of Harisena, were present in the Prākṛit commentary. This definitely indicates that the Prākṛit commentary etc., included these stories that are later on collected separately by Harisena and others. Harisena's text definitely inherits certain linguistic traits in the proper names, grammatical forms, expressions and vocabulary which undoubtedly betray that it is based on some Prākṛit original, and that, according to Āśādhara's suggestion, might have been a Prākṛit commentary on the Bha Ārādhana¹. Besides the Kathākośa of Harisena, about which we will discuss later, there are similar collections by Śricandra, Nayanandi, Prabhācandra and Nemidatta which we shall have to review before we enumerate their stories in correspondence with the Ārādhana gāthās.

a) ŚRICANDRA'S KATHĀKOŚA IN APABHRAMŚA

This work is written in Apabhramśa with varied metres and is divided into 53 Samdhis which do not necessarily correspond to the division of stories some of which are vivisectioned by the Samdhi-division. The colophons give the author's name as Śricamda. The Sanskrit Prasasti at the end gives his spiritual genealogy thus Śrikīrti (of Kundakundānvaya), Śrutakīrti, Sahasrakīrti (who was respected by Gāṅgeya, Bhojadeva and others), Viryacandra and Śricandra. At the request of the Bhavyas, he mastered the work of a *pūrvācārya*, an earlier author, and wrote this Kathākośa more specifically for the family of Kṛṣṇa, the son of Sajjana of Prāgvāta family who was a resident of Anahillapura in Saurāṣṭra and who was a legal adviser (*dharmasthānasya goṣṭhikah*) of king Mūlarāja. As to the

¹ On gāthā No. 567 Āśādhara quotes a Prākṛit commentary to explain the term *kṛmīrāga-kambala*, and this explanation, nearly in the same form, is found in the Kathākośa of Harisena (102-82).

date of this author, Prof. Hiralal¹ remarks: 'History tells us that there have been two kings of this name in the Chālukya line of Anhilvād. The first was the founder of the dynasty and reigned from A.D. 941 (961?) to 996, and the second, who was tenth in the line, sat on the throne in 1176 A.D. and ruled only for two years. Our author flourished about the time of one of these kings, probably of the first'. But the way in which the Prāsasti gives the facts shows that our author was one or two generations later than Mūlarāja². Sahasrakīrti was a contemporary of Gāngeya and Bhoja, the former possibly the Kalacūri of Cedi (c. 1015-1040) and the latter the Paramāra of Malwā (c. 1018-1060). So tentatively we can put Śricandra at the close of the eleventh century A.D. In the following lines he speaks of the Kathākośa of earlier poets:

महुं धम्मे परेकमस्ति गुरुक अण्णु किं पि न वियाणमि³
जलहि व्व असोसु जो कहकोसु सो हउं केम समाणमि ॥
जो विरहउ आसि महामईहिं
महरिसीहिं अणेयाहिं सक्कईहिं ।
तं रयमि केम हउं मवमई
भूयरहो होइ किं गयणगई ॥

He gives some important facts about the source or the basis of his Kathākośa in the following lines

गणहरहो पयासिउ जिणवइणा	सेणियहो आसि जिह गणवइणा ।
सिवकोडिमुणिदिं जेम जप	कहकोसु कहिउ पंचमसमए ।
तिहं गुरुकमेण अहमवि कहमि	नियबुद्धिविसेसु नेव रहमि ।
महु देवि सरासइ सम्मुहिया	संभवउ समत्थु लोयमहिया ।
आयण्णहो मूलाराहणहं	समापवग्गसुहसाहणहं ।
गाहंतरियाउ सुसोहणउ	बहु कहउ अत्थि रंजियजणउ ।
धम्मत्थकाममोक्खासयउ	गाहासु जासु संठियउ तउ ।
ताणत्थं भणिऊण पुरउ	पुणु कहमि कहाउ कयायरउ ।

घत्ता—संबंधविहूणु सव्वु वि जणु रसु न देइ गुणवंतहं ।
तेणिय गाहाउ पयडिवि ताउ कहमि कहाउ सुणंतहं ॥

भणिदं च—

जिह कुण्णेण विहूणं आलेक्खं नत्थि जीवल्लेयम्मि ।
तिह पयवेणविहूणं पावंति कहं न सोयारा ॥

¹ Allahabad University Journal, vol I, pp 171-72

² Sajjana was a contemporary of Mūlarāja, his son was Kṛṣṇa, and Śricandra refers to the sons etc., of Kṛṣṇa

³ This Ms. retains initial n, so I have retained it. The lines are quoted with minor corrections.

The thesaurus of tales has come from Jinendra to Gaṇadhara and from Gaṇadhara to Śrenika, in the Pañcamakāla it was narrated by Śivakoṭimūnindra¹, and through various teachers (*guru-kramena*) it has reached Śricandra. Secondly, Mūlārādhana, whose study leads one to the happiness of heaven and liberation, has got in its gāthās so many nice and interesting stories. Thirdly, Śricandra would first explain the gāthās in which the stories are referred to and then narrate the stories. Lastly, Śricandra remarks that nothing would be interesting if given out of context, so the stories would follow only after the gāthās are given. As there cannot be a painting without the wall, so the readers cannot grasp a story without word-to-word explanation or understanding (of the basic gāthā). He begins with the opening Mangala (of the Bha. Ā.) which is explained, and then follows the second gāthā which also is explained and on which are added the illustrative stories of Bharata etc. in Apabhramśa. Thus it is plain that he gives stories associated with the gāthās of Mūlārādhana of Śivārya or Śivakoṭi. He picks up only those gāthās on which the stories are to be illustrated, explains their literal meaning in Sanskrit, and then gives short and long tales. Possibly he complains against his predecessors that they did not give these gāthās, but narrated only the stories, in a way his is a commendable procedure, but unluckily he has not quoted those gāthās upto the end. Śricandra's Kośa is interspersed with Prākṛit and Sanskrit quotations².

b) PRABHĀCANDRA'S KATHĀKOŚA IN SANSKRIT PROSE

This work³ gives in simple Sanskrit prose, with occasional quotations in Sanskrit and Prākṛit, the stories of those religious personalities who devoted themselves to fourfold Ārādhana and attained happiness. The text is called Ārādhana-satkathā-prabandha, the first two gāthās from the Bha. Ārādhana are quoted at the beginning, some of the titles of stories introduce the tales with a few words from the gāthās of Bha. Ā., and all these can be traced to that text. These facts clearly indicate that this Kośa gives stories to illustrate the direct and indirect references in the Bha. Ārādhana of Śivārya. With the second gāthā of it are connected the opening stories about Pātrakesarī, Akalanka, Sanatkumāra, Samantabhadra and Samjayanta. The stories on the eight limbs of Samyaktva are identical with those found in the Sk. commentary of Prabhācandra on the Ratna-karandaka⁴. There is no doubt that all the stories are connected with the Bha. Ā., but somehow the text shows two clear divisions. After the 90th story of Śakatāla, there are two verses (*yaur ārādhya* etc., and *sukomalaiḥ* etc.) followed by a prose colophon which records that this Ārādhana-kathā-prabandha was composed by Prabhācandra Pandita, a resident of Dhārā, in the reign or kingdom of Jayasimhadeva. Again the stories (32 in number) are continued, and at the close we have the verse *sukomalaiḥ* etc. followed by a concluding remark that here ends the Kathākośa of Bhattāraka Prabhācandra.

¹ Reading the whole Kaṇḍavaka, I do not think that we would be right in taking the second line literally and attributing a Kathākośa to Śivakoṭi.

² I am very thankful to my friend Prof. Hiralalaji who procured for my use the Ms. of this Kathākośa belonging to the Bilātkāra Jaina Mandira, Karanja (A. No. 79 Kathākośa Māgadhi). On account of the effect of ink on paper, the written portion of many folios is brittle and even broken.

³ On Prabhācandra, his date and works, see Nyāyakumudacandra, vols. I and II, especially their Introductions (Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, Nos. 38-39, Bombay 1938-41).

⁴ Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, No. 24, Bombay Sarhvat 1982.

The supplementary nature of the second part certainly disturbs the order of references found in the gāthās of the Bha Ā. There is no sufficient evidence to decide whether both the parts are composed by one and the same Prabhācandra in his early and later parts of life or whether we are to distinguish between Prabhācandra Paṇḍita and Bhattāraka Prabhācandra. To me the former alternative looks more probable. The style¹ and presentation of contents are nearly alike in both the parts: the only difference that strikes one is that the second section mentions the gāthās more specifically. Some of his Sanskrit sentences introducing the stories have a metrical ring, and most of the Prākṛit catch words are taken from the gāthās of the Bha Ā. The Ms. used by me is dated Samvat 1638². Further Nemidatta (beginning of the 16th century A.D.) also follows this very order in his Kathākośa with minor additions and omissions, and he leaves some indication about this division at the close of his story No. 82, especially in the verse No. 21. So it is quite likely that Prabhācandra himself is responsible for this two-fold division, and my explanation about it is like this. We have seen above how these stories were originally incorporated in the commentaries on the Bha Ārādhana plenty of which were used by Āsādhara. It is quite likely that these commentaries, in Prākṛit and Sanskrit, differed among themselves on the number, nature etc., of the illustrative stories to be associated with a particular gāthā. Prabhācandra might have first completed his Kośa with 90 stories following some commentary, but later when he came across another commentary, or even a Kathākośa, giving more tales, he added a supplementary section, thus incorporating most of the stories associated with Ārādhana. This supplementation has not been carefully done, because some of the stories already given in the first part are repeated in the second part (Nos. 14 & 19* 15, 15 & 90* 18, 19 & 90* 22, 22 & 90* 27, 20 & 90* 28, 21 & 90* 31). Simple and short sentences, predominance of the use of past passive participles as predicates and numerous Prākṛitic words, some of them un-Sanskritic and some back-formations, clearly betray the use of Prākṛit sources by Prabhācandra in composing this Kośa. As to the date of this work, it might be assigned to the close of the 11th century A.D., because Prabhācandra was a contemporary of Jayasinha who succeeded Bhoja of Dhārā (c. 1018-1060).

c) NEMIDATTA'S KATHĀKOŚA IN SANSKRIT VERSES

Nemidatta plainly tells us that his Ārādhana Kathākośa³ is based on the work of Prabhācandra who belonged to Mūlasīṅgha, Bhārati-gaccha, Balātkāragana and Kundakunḍanvaya, and who wrote the stories in nice sentences. As far as possible he followed the same order of stories which he composed in verses, those of Prabhācandra being in prose (Intro. verses 5 ff., concluding verses 68 ff.). More than once Prabhācandra is respectfully mentioned in this work (2. 134, 27. 33, 69. 35, etc.). It appears that Nemidatta claims Prabhācandra to belong to the same Gana etc., as those of his own, though Prabhācandra

¹ The simple style reminds me of the style of Prākṛit stories given by Devendra and others, and in all probability Prabhācandra is rendering into Sanskrit the Prākṛit sentences. That alone will explain why his style is so elaborate in his other works and so simple in this Kathākośa.

² I am very thankful to Pt. Premijī who kindly sent this Ms. to me for my use. According to my numbering of the stories, there are 90 stories in the first part and 32 in the second part. These thirty-two stories are numbered by me as 90*1, 90*2, etc.

³ The Sanskrit text and Hindi translation are published, in three vols., by the Jaina Mitra Kāryālaya, Bombay, Vira samvat 2440-42. My references are to the chapters and verses of this ed.

has not given any details. Nemidatta gives his spiritual predecessors thus: Vidyānandi, Mallibhūṣaṇa, Simhanandi and Śrutasāgara, they belong to the line of Bhaṭṭārakas; and he looks upon them as his elders (concluding verses 69-72). Some of them are his contemporaries, and he remembers them in the concluding verses of some of the stories (3 66, 4 83, etc). This work was composed at the desire of his *guru-bhrātā*, Bhaṭṭāraka Mallibhūṣaṇa, in the presence of his disciple Simhanandi and for the religious benefit (*saṃyaktva-ratna-śrīye*) of Śrutasāgarasūri (1 56, 3 66, etc). In view of his relation with these, Nemidatta can be assigned to the beginning of the 16th century A D¹. The work is plainly called *Ārādhana-kathakośa*, and in the introductory section the second *gāthā* of Bha A is quoted.

Though Nemidatta's *Kathakośa* is based on that of Prabhācandra, still there are certain apparent differences between the two texts. The total number of stories in Prabhācandra's work is 122, while that of Nemidatta is 114. From a casual inspection I find that some seventeen stories (Nos 16, 18, 29, 30, 38, 39, 42, 56, 60, 66, 84, 90*15, 90*16, 90*18, 90*22, 90*27, 90*28) from P's *Kathakośa*, though legitimately connected with the *Ārādhana* text, are not found in N's *Kathakośa*, and nine stories from N's collection (Nos 25, 28, 53, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112 and 114) have not got their counterparts in P's work. The absence of P's stories Nos 90*15, 90*18, 90*22, 90*27 and 90*28 can be explained by the fact that they are repetitions with Prabhācandra and are already found once in story Nos 14, 15, 17, 20 and 18 of Nemidatta. Of the nine additional tales, No 25, the story of Mrgasenadhivara, appears to have been already connected with the *Ārādhana* text, No 53 is possibly a supplementary discussion suggested from No 52, Nos 28, 108, 109-12 and 114 are illustrative stories connected with the *Ratnakarandaka* III 18, III 18*2², IV 28, IV 30 respectively, and Nemidatta's stories closely agree with those given by Prabhācandra in his commentary on these verses of the *Ratnakarandaka*.

d) NAYANANDI'S ĀRĀDHANĀ AND OTHER ĀRĀDHANĀ KATHĀKOŚAS

Details about Nayanandi's work are not completely available. This Apabhramśa text is said to have contained two parts with 56 and 58 *Samdhis*, but the Pattan Ms inspected by Dalal contained only 30 and 27 *Samdhis*³. It is not explicit from the title, *Ārādhana*, whether it is a narrative work or a dogmatical treatise. The bulk of the work, its description as a *Kāvya* (like Śrīcandra calling his Apabhramśa *Kathakośa* a *kāvya* in his Sanskrit *Praśasti*) and its definite association with *Ārādhana* tempt me to suggest that Nayanandi's work might turn out to be a *Kathakośa* like that of Śrīcandra.

The *Jinaratnakōśa* mentions the following *Ārādhana* *Kathakośas* in addition, their Mss should be brought to light and studied in details: 1) *Ā K* in Sanskrit by Simhanandin, 2) *Ā K* in *Prākṛit* by Chatrasena, 3) *Ā K* in Sanskrit by Brahmadeva Brahmācārīn; this Ms is reported from Śravana Belgol, and it should be seen whether it is identical with Nemidatta's work or an independent composition, 4) *Ā K* of *Ratnakīrti*; it is reported from Delhi, in all probability it might turn out to be a separate compilation of *Ārādhana* stories given by *Ratnakīrti* in his Sanskrit commentary on the *Ārādhanaśāra*⁴, *gāthās* 49-51, and lastly 5) *Ā K* of an unknown author.

¹ Peterson Reports IV, p cxxiii, *Premi Jaina Sāhitya aurā Itihāsa*, pp 406-12, etc.

² See Jugalkishore's *Intro to the Ratnakarandaka* (Bombay Samvat 1982), p. 43, verse No. 72.

³ See the *Intro to Bhaviasyattakāhā* in the *G O S*, p 43.

⁴ This is already referred to above.

e) THE VADDĀRĀDHANE IN OLD-KANNADA PROSE

As early as 1883, it was K. B. Pathak and through him J. F. Fleet that published a few lines from what they called Upasarga-kevaligala kathe of Revākotyācārya to explain some words like *pañca-mahāśabda* and *mādhī*¹. As far as I know, they have not given any information about the Ms. used by them. On getting, however, an indirect clue from another note of Fleet,² lately I made a careful search for this Ms. in the Jaina Matha of Śrī Laksmīsenā Bhaṭṭāraka, Kolhapur, and I found a palm-leaf Ms.³ whose wooden board bears almost the above name (Palm-leaf Mss., No. 45). The longer extract given by Pathak is found on pp. 113a-114 of this Ms. The designation of the Ms. inscribed in Old-Kannada characters on the board, namely, Upasarga-kevali-kathe, appears to be just a convenient and conjectural label written possibly by the library manager perhaps after reading a few opening lines. No such name is found in the Ms. itself. The opening words are Sukumāra-svāmi and some of the concluding words run thus

यी पेळद पत्तोभत्तु कथेय रेवाकोद्याचार्यपेळद वड्वाराधनेय कवचमैबधिकारऊ ।

In addition to what has been already written, this is enough to indicate that this work is identical with the Vaddārādhane, major portion of which is edited by my friend Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar, Mysore, and about the age of which some scholars have quite eloquently expressed their views⁴.

¹ Indian Antiquary XII, pp. 95 f., 99 f.

² Indian Antiquary XII, p. 216.

³ The Kolhapur Ms., which would be called L hereafter, can be described thus. It is a palm-leaf Ms. containing 147 leaves written on both sides, the last page being blank. The bulk of the Ms., without the boards, is about 11.75 × 1.5 × 2 inches. On each page, due to string holes and surrounding space, the written portion is divided into three columns. There are eight lines on a page with 55 to 60 letters in each line. It is written in Old-Kannada characters, the old forms of *r* and *l* are used, and there are other peculiarities of the script such as the absence of the distinction between long and short vowels and between some aspirated and un-aspirated consonants. The Ms. opens thus सुकुमारस्वामि॥ नमः सिद्धेभ्य ॥ इंदसयवदियाणं etc. ॥

एस सुरासुर etc. ॥ तिलेयसव्वजीवाणं हियं धम्मोवदेसिणं । वडुमाणं महावीरं वेदित्ता सव्ववेइणं ॥ नमः श्रीवर्धमानाय etc. ॥ येदितु श्रीवर्द्धमानभट्टारकर्णे etc. At the close of the last story, there are three Prākṛit verses full of corrupt readings जदि ता एवं etc. ॥ किं पुण etc. ॥ जिणवयण etc. Then we have in Kannada prose यी पेळद पत्तोभत्तु कथेय रेवाकोद्याचार्यपेळद वड्वाराधनेय कवचमैबधिकारऊ ॥ श्रीपंचगुरुवे शरणु । प्लव सवत्सरद कार्तिक शुद्ध १ शुक्रवार बेळूर चंद्रय्यवैश्यर चंद्रय्यनु वड्वाराधनेय पुस्तकवनु बरदनु मंगलमहाश्री ॥ ४ ॥ But for a few leaves that are broken across and stitched lately, the Ms. is quite intact. It is copied at Belur, in the Mysore state. The year is not given. From the general appearance, the Ms. looks quite old, say at least three hundred years. From what little I could compare I find that this Ms. belongs to the group of *gha*, *ca*, *cha* described by Mr. D. L. Narasimhachar.

⁴ As far as I know, about Vaddārādhane here are the sources, textual and critical. Pathak and Fleet, Indian Antiquary XII, pp. 95, 99 etc.; R. Narasimhachary Kavacarite I, p. 282; D. L. Narasimhachar, Karpāṭaka Sāhitya Pariṣatpatrike, XVI, pp. 173-231 (Intro. and the stories of Sukumāra, Bhadrabāhu and Vidyuccora, references to these are given by me with starred numbers of pages), Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣatpatrike XXIV, No. 4, pp. 1-111 and 1-26 (story 1), Ibidem XXV, No. 2-3, pp. 1-v and 1-viii, 27-44 (story 2), Ibid XXV, No. 4, pp. 45-66 (stories 3-5), Ibid XXVI, No. 1, pp. 67-88 (story 6), Ibid XXVI, No. 2, pp. 89-108 (stories 7-10), Ibid XXVII, No. 1, pp. 109-128 (Stories 11-13 and a page of 14). M. G. Pai, Mūru Upanyāsagaḷu (Dharmavar 1940), pp. 111-122, Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣatpatrike XXVI, No. 2, pp. 134-36. S. Śrīkanṭha Śāstri, Sources of Karpāṭaka History, vol. I, (Mysore 1940), p. xx.

Vaddārādhane may be accepted as the name of this collection of stories beginning with that of Sukumāra and ending with that of Vrsabhasena. We have seen how the Bha Ā contains legendary references which are illustrated by stories that might have been primarily included in its Prākṛit and Sanskrit commentaries but later on came to be preserved in separate Kośas some of which are already noted above. This Kannada work is a partial Kathākośa giving nineteen stories which are referred to in the Bha Ā of Śivārya or Śivakoti, gāthās Nos 1539-1557. Apart from minor differences in readings, these Prākṛit gāthās are given at the beginning of respective stories and also literally explained in Kannada. The Ms L gives three more gāthās (*jadi tā evam* etc) corresponding to Nos 1558-60 of the Bha Ā, in continuation of the opening gāthās, at the end of the work. The stories are presented in elaborate Kannada prose interspersed with quotations in Prākṛit (including Apabhramśa), Sanskrit and Kannada. The style is less Sanskrit-ridden than that of Cāmundarāya-purāna but more dignified than that of later Nompikathes plenty of which are available in old Mss. Excepting in the contexts of dogmatical discourses and traditional enumerations, the text presents a vigorous prose maintaining a balanced proportion of Sanskrit and Kannada words. It does not imitate the classical style of prose of some of the Kannada Campūs which is mostly Sanskrit in its vocabulary, but it has evolved a fine blend of racy expression that shows no special aptitude for Sanskrit words, if they could be conveniently substituted by genuine and Tadbhava Kannada words. One feels that the sentences have become involved due to too many gerundives, and some struggle for clear expression of ideas is seen here and there. Economy of expression has not weighed with the author, but as in the case of the prose of the Ardhmāgadhī canon, descriptive and enumerative repetitions¹ are scattered all over the work. Different aspects of the style of this text deserve to be studied in more details. On account of similar expressions, common ideas and identical quotations found in different stories, there seems to be no doubt about the fact that all the nineteen stories are written by one and the same author, whoever he might be.

With a slight change in the order, at one place², these nineteen stories correspond to Nos 126-144 in the Kathākośa of Harisena with which they have closer affinity than with any other Kośas reviewed above. A comparative reading of these stories, side by side, discloses many interesting points³. There are groups of verses, here and there, in Harisena's Kosa (126 19 f, 162 f, 220 f, 256 f, 127 145 f, 259 f, 89 f, 131 67 f, etc) which have close agreement with the Vaddārādhane in those contexts. But when we go into more details, perhaps with the exception of Vrsabhasena's story (K⁴ 135 and V 10) which shows nearly the same extent of contents in both, all the stories in the Vaddārādhane are longer and contain more details than those given by Harisena. The story of Sukosala, as given by the Kannada text, begins with verse No 107 of Harisena's story and gives the contents of the first 106 verses later. This is only a glaring illustration which indicates

¹ See *grāmekarātram* etc, p 46 foot-note 8, p 66 line 16, names of diseases *vāta-pitta* etc, p 63, 92, types of villages etc, *grāma-nagara* etc pp 46, 66, 77, 82, 96, 103, 107 etc.

² According to the sequence of the gāthās of Bha Ā, the story of Epikāputra should be the 5th and that of Bhadrabāhu the 6th, this order is followed by the printed text, but the editor in enumerating the 19 stories has interchanged their places.

³ My observations have in view mainly the first ten Kannada stories which are so far available in print. The next three stories reached my hands rather late.

⁴ K. = Kathākośa of Harisena and V = Vaddārādhane.

that the order of the presentation of details is not necessarily the same in both the works. Besides giving additional sub-stories, details about more Bhavas, stylistic descriptions and traditional enumerations, one feels, as in the case of Sanatkumāra's story, that perhaps Vaddārādhane is following, at times, a different recension too for some of its details¹. So far as these nineteen stories are concerned, it is plain that Harisena narrates the main events of the story in a straight way without adding too many extraneous details². It may be that Harisena is nearing the close of his big work, while the Kannada author is vigorously shaping and narrating his stories which probably constitute all that he wrote in this context. On the whole the proper names etc., in different stories are the same in both the works, but there are a few significant differences which deserve special attention: Śailapura, Jayakā and Vodaka in K 126 124 f, but Śvetapura, Jaise and Bodhana in V 1, p 17, Gandharva-bhūpāla in K 127 152, but Sundara (v 1 Gandara etc.) Pāndya in V 11, p 31, line 5, Surendradatta in K 126 210, but Sūradatta in V 1, p 20, Gomini in K. 126 206, but Gaurī in V 11, p 33, etc. Additional and varying details, absence of close agreement in the order of events to be narrated and the differences in some of the proper names rule out the possibility that one is directly and mechanically following the other in writing out these stories. A sober evaluation of these aspects along with the common points lead us to the conclusion that both of them are based on the same source, possibly a Prākṛit commentary on the Bhagavatī Ārādhana, after admitting, however, the probability that every author elaborated the stories in his own way but kept the outline and the motive intact.

The facts that the collection of Kannada stories is called Vaddārādhane and that it interprets the gāthās of the Bha. Ā., just as Śricandra has done, on which the stories are narrated only confirm the view that it might have been based on a commentary. If the Kannada author followed the Sanskrit Kathākośa of Harisena or of some one else, he would not ordinarily give the gāthās and show crucial differences in the proper names. Not only Harisena's text, as shown below, but also the Kannada stories betray some traces of the Prākṛit source.

Though the problem is not fully studied yet, it has to be accepted that it is the Prākṛit tendencies that gave a lead to the growth of Kannada vocabulary, and a set-back was given to the excessive use of pure Sanskrit words for which Tadbhava words, which were derived according to Prākṛit tendencies subjected, of course, to the genius of Kannada phonology, came to be substituted. Even after admitting this and making some concession for this sort of Prākṛit influence, we come across certain traits indicating that these Kannada stories are based on a Prākṛit source. In the story of Bhadrabāhu, the boundaries of Madhyadeśa are stated in a Prākṛit verse (p 80) which is possibly a relic from the Prākṛit original. There are many expressions which look like Prākṛit remnants: *āyambila* (p 61, see the foot-note 2), *chatthathama-dasam-duvālasa* (p 40), *jāvajjivam* (pp 76, 82, 108), *paccakkhāna* (76), *padika-mana* (p 24, 86 etc.), *bolaha bolaha* (p 79, Imp 2nd p pl from *vola* to go, to get a way³), *vak-khānisi* (pp 3, 5). There are other words like *Lacchi* (p 91), *savana* (p 6), *risi* (p 9) etc.,

¹ The Kannada version reminds me, in some portions at least, the story given by Devendra in his commentary on the Uttarādhyayana, see Prākṛit-kathāsamgraha (Ahmedabad Samvat 1976), pp 17-28. Also compare the story No. 3 in Prabhācandra's Kośa.

² Harisena would simply refer to the event of marriage, but the Kannada text would describe a Svayamvara.

³ In the corresponding passage (131, 30) Harisena uses *gaccha*.

which are not altogether impossible in any Kannada work not based on a Prākṛit original. Harisena too might have worked with a Prākṛit original before him; it is interesting to note certain names which are differently Sanskritised by the Kathākośa and by the Vaddārādhane, and in some cases at least we can definitely lay our finger, keeping in mind the possible orthographical confusions and phonetic changes, on the probable Prākṛit name in the original. Dayāvāda and Dayāvata (K 126 26, V pp 5, 6), Śailapura and Śvetapura (K 126 124, V p 17), Samvala and Śambara (K 126 57, V p 10), Sodālikā and Modālī (K 126 130, V p 17), Ravibindu and Ratibindu (K 127 242, V p 36), Jayamatī and Jayāvati (K 127 263, V p 38), Vapṛavāda and Vapṛapāḷa (K 131 69, V p 87), Amśumān and Sumanta, v 1, Sumana (K 134 2, V p 100), Jinapālita and Jinavādika (K 135 7, V p 104), Vinyātata and Venātata (K 138 40, V p *226) etc. Casually peeping through the Ms L, I came across names like Vajradāda (p 117) and Bhattamitra (p 137). The doublets, noted above, are impossible, if these two texts had a common Sanskrit origin or they followed each other. This evidence is extremely interesting: it definitely indicates a Prākṛit source for these stories, and possibly a common one.

The title Vaddārādhane for these Kannada stories has come to stay, it has been made sufficiently popular by their editor as well as by subsequent writers, and without any hesitation the writers of the Moodabidri and Kolhapur Mss use this title for their copies. To be more accurate, there is no evidence to say what name the author of the Kannada work gave to his collection of these nineteen stories. In my opinion, this name has not come down to us. This point will be clear from the colophon of the Kannada text, as distinguished from the colophons of the Mss, which might be presented thus:

ई पेळ्द पत्तौवत्तु कथेगळ् [१] शिवकोट्याचार्यर् पेळ्द बोझाराधनेय कवचवु संगळ महा श्री ।

This is the reading of the Moodabidri Ms with which the Kolhapur Ms has some differences, the important one being Vaddārādhaneya. The meaning, however, is practically the same. The free rendering would be 'Here or thus are narrated nineteen tales. Thus ends (auspiciously expressed by the words *mamgalam mahā śrī*) the (section) Kavaca belonging to Vaddārādhana of Śivakotyācārya'. Kavaca, in Indian literature, usually indicates a class of texts containing hymns or Mantras, associated with some deity or the other, whose regular recitations, on account of their miraculous power, are said to protect a devotee from all the dangers, just as a coat of armour can protect a soldier. This type is not quite popular with the Jaina authors, if at all composed, it can be associated legitimately only with Śāsanadevatās such as Jvālāmālīnī, Padmāvatī etc., and we have one Ms, No 575 of 1895-98, at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, which contains Śrī-Padmāvatī-kavaca comprising a few propitiatory verses soliciting protection. The Kavaca-section associated with Ārādhana texts is altogether different. It consists in an exhortation, accompanied by illustrations of tales of religious martyrs, addressed to an Ārādhaka on the eve of his life, so that it might give him sufficient courage to face the different Parisahas. Like an armour, it serves the purpose of spiritual protection. The Bhāṣya on the Jītakalpa-sūtram¹ contains a Kavaca-dvāra (gāthās 476-90), and there are available independent Mss of Kavaca-dvāra² (No 579 of 1895-98 in the B. O. R. I., Poona) often included under Prakīrnaka texts of the Jaina canon. The Kavaca attributed to Śivakotyācārya, in the above

¹ Edited by Punyavijsaya, Ahmedabad Samvat 1994

² Descriptive Catalogue, vol. XVII, part 1 (Poona 1935), pp 330, 380

colophon, is definitely a section (gāthā Nos 1509-1682) of that name from his Bhagavati Ā , and it contains religious instructions as a protection or armour against the Parisahās etc. The Prākṛit gāthās quoted at the opening of the stories are drawn from this section, and they represent a solid bulk of illustrative gāthās. Śrīcandra adds a sentence *kavacāhīyāro'-yam* immediately after the story of Vṛṣabhasena that explains, to a certain extent, why the Kavaca-section ends with these nineteen stories. This further shows that Vaddārādhane, or Vaddārāadhanā (in Prākṛit), is only another name of the Bhaga Ā of Śivakoṭi. The etymological interpretation of this additional name has been already subjected to a good deal of speculation. The two roots *vr̥dh* and *br̥h* look like doublets showing dialectal variations, and undoubtedly they lie at the basis of the Prākṛit word *vadda*, big or great. Its etymological derivation is attended with some difficulty, so Prākṛitists have included it in the list of Deśī words. At any rate *vaddārāadhanā* means a big Ārāadhanā, and as shown above, Bha Ā , is a pretty big work among the Ārāadhanā texts so far known. So it looks quite reasonable that the Bha Ā , in order to be distinguished from later and smaller Ārāadhanā texts, came to be called by the names Mūlārāadhanā and Vaddārāadhanā. The colophon that concludes Kavaca, therefore, refers to Bhaga Ā , and its author Śivakoṭi, and it has nothing to say either about the title of the Kannada stories or about their author.

Pathak gave currency to the name Revākotyācārya following the reading of the Ms L. It is an improbable name so far as Jaina authors are concerned, there is every possibility that the Old-Kannada *śi* from the exemplar has been wrongly copied as *re* in the Ms L, and now other Mss, which read Śivakotyācārya, have come to light. In the light of the explanation given by me above, it is plain that the colophon mentions Śivakoṭi as the author of Vaddārāadhanā whose verses form the basis of the Kannada stories. We may call the Kannada work by the name Vaddārāadhanā following the Mss of Mudabidri and Kolhapur, but we have no evidence to attribute the authorship of Kannada stories to Śivakoṭi. To conclude, we can call these stories by the name Vaddārādhane, but we do not know who the author was.

I have already discussed the probable age of Śivakoṭi and his Bha Ā. A tentative attempt may be made here to settle the date of this Kannada text on which some views are already expressed. 1) Pathak causally implied that this work is contemporary with Torgallu inscription of A D 1188, and R Narasimhachary, who had no occasion to examine the complete Ms, quietly followed Pathak and assigned this work to c 1180 A D. 2) Mr D L Narasimhachary detects, in this text, certain old terminations like *-om*, *-ol* and *-or* etc, found in the inscriptions upto the 8th century A D and earlier forms like *irdon*, *poridon*, also the use of *amma* for *appa* found in the Kannada works upto the 10th century A D. The text shows close similarities with the style of Cāmundarāya-purāṇa (A D 978). Bhadrabāhu's story agrees with that given by Harisena in his Kathākosa (A D 931) which might be the source of this Kannada version. In the light of these considerations, he would assign the date c 940 A D for this work. 3) Mr M Govind Pai advances the following arguments to settle the date of this work. In the text of the Vaddārādhane some verses from Bhartrhari's Śatakas are found, but their text and date are not definite. The text mentions Dīnāra, so it must be later than 2nd century A D. It calls Belgola by the name Kaḷbappu which is first mentioned in a Śravana Belgola inscription of 650 A D, so it must be earlier than 650. Then to confirm this, he collects good many words and forms that are found in early Kannada works and inscriptions, and thus the Kannada Vaddārādhane is

to be put not later than 6th century A D Some of his remarks are baseless and imaginary¹; one feels as if he is bent on assigning high antiquity to this work after forcing every argument for his purpose, and his facts and premisses do not logically lead to the conclusion arrived at by him Chronology is not a matter of taste and forced opinion we should dispassionately record the evidence and see what limits can be put to the age of this work 4) Prof S Śrīkanth Śāstri has not argued out his conclusion, but he remarks that the Vaddārādhane of Śivakoti probably belongs to the 7th century A D

My own study of the text, especially of the printed portion, has revealed certain facts which I shall note down and try to put broad limits to the age of this important Kannada work Scrutinising the internal evidence, we find here a good number of quotations in Prākṛit (with Apabhramśa), Sanskrit and Kannada It is quite likely that some of the Prākṛit and Sanskrit quotations are inherited from the Prākṛit original and some others, along with the Kannada verses, might have been added by the Kannada author That explains, to a certain extent, why we get a group of verses expressing nearly the same ideas (pp 8, 9, 96, 97 etc) If we could trace the sources of these quotations, unanimously included in the text by all the known Mss, it would not be difficult to put an earlier limit to the age of this book I have been able to trace a few quotations to their sources which can be arranged thus according to tentative chronology The opening gāthās of the nineteen stories, the three concluding gāthās from the Ms L and a quotation (*jaha jaha* etc, in the story of Gurudatta, p 120 of L) are all found, with slight dialectal variations, in the Bha Ā of Śivakoti Of the three opening Prākṛit verses in the Ms L, possibly quoted as a Mangala by the Kannada author, the first is from the Pañcāstikāya (No 1) and the second from the Pravacanasāra (No 1) of Kundakunda Then *khammāmi* etc, (p 43) is found in the Mūlācāra (II 7) and also in the Pratikramana (p 9, Bhavanagar ed Samvat 1954) from which (Ibid, p 10) appears to be quoted, with a slight variation, another verse *hā duṭṭhu* etc (p 99) The verse *yadyapi* etc (p 107) is quoted from the Praśamaratī-prakarana (No 107) of Umāsvatī The opening Sanskrit verse *namah śrī* etc, is the Mangala of Ratnakarandaka of Samantabhadra who is assigned to c 2nd century A D Some quotations like *yesām na vidyā* etc, (p 97), *yāvat svastham idam* etc (p *229) and *traṣṇām chindhi* (p 121 of Ms L) are traced to the Śatakas (Nīti 13, Vairāgya 88 and Nīti 77)² of Bhartrhari whose date and the authenticity of a particular verse in the Śataka are uncertain The Apabhramśa quotation *chijjau* etc (p 43, not found in some Mss) is from the Paramātma-prakāśa (1 72) of Joindu³ who probably flourished in the 6th century A D The verse *kārya mātā* etc, found in the story of Gurudatta (p 119a of Ms L) is from the Varāṅgacarita⁴ (XV 78) of Jātā-Simhanandī, c close of the 7th century A D Then *ādaḥ janma* etc (p 63) appears to be quoted from that portion of the Mahāpurāṇa which is composed by Gunabhadra (Ādī, 46 196, p 3121, Kolhapur ed) who completed it some time before Śaka 820 (+78=898 A D) when Lokasena glorified

¹ Some of the statements and premisses of Mr Pai are incorrect and contradictory to the known facts He says that there is no practice of composing or quoting Prākṛit gāthās in a Sanskrit work, that Sanskrit verses cannot be quoted in Prākṛit works, that Prākṛit is not *praudhasāhitya*—these are all imaginary statements which do not deserve to be refuted even

² These numbers are from Telang's edition, Bombay 1874

³ See the Intro to my edition (Bombay 1937) of that work, p 67

⁴ Edited by me in the Māṇikacandra D J Granthamālā, Bombay 1938, Intro p 22, also Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike XXV, No 3, pp 133-46

this work¹ As long as it has not been shown, with fresh evidence, that these quotations are traced to still earlier works and that their genuineness in the Kannaḍa text is doubtful, we will have to admit that the Kannaḍa Vaddārādhane cannot be dated earlier than Śaka 820 or 898 A D

Among the other quotations, *so dhammo* etc, (p 9) is included by Padmaprabha² (c last quarter of the 12th and the first quarter of the 13th century A D) in his commentary on the Niyamasāra (I 6, p 6) with the phrase *tathā c'oktam*, and *kāle sampratī* etc (p 81) is found, with slight variations, in the Subhāsitāvalī (p 5, Belgaum ed 1897) of Sakalakīrti, c 1464 A D, but this work is more or less an anthology So these have not got any value to settle the date of our work

Harisena's Kathākośa mentions a king Gandharva-bhūpāla (127 152), but the Kannaḍa text reads, in the corresponding context, Sundara-Pāndya with the alternative readings Gandara- Gāndāra- and Gandāra- (p 31) The title Sundara is often repeated with the names of Pāndyan kings³ and the reading too is uncertain so this reference cannot be safely used for chronological purpose

Thus it is definite that the Vaddārādhane is later than 898 A D and earlier than 1403 A D which is the date of the earliest known Ms

Let us see whether the above limits can be brought nearer by studying the style and grammatical forms of this text The prose style appears to me later than that of Cāvundarāya-purāna but earlier than that of prose Nompikathes in view of the comparatively meagre use of Sanskrit words and of its racy Kannaḍa expression So I would put this work later than Cāvundarāya-purāna (978 A D) On the basis of old forms etc, a high antiquity is claimed for this work In evaluating these grammatical forms, we have to bear in mind, and to a certain extent it is borne out by the various readings, that the copyists might have subjected the text to contemporary idiom and usage here and there so our conclusions from these are bound to be tentative This text, one feels, does present much older grammatical material, but this, by itself, might not prove necessarily the antiquity of the text but as well indicate the proficiency of the author in earlier phases of Kannaḍa It is not enough, therefore, if we simply detect old forms etc, as Mr Pai has done, but we should be able to state the latest age-limit upto which they were current and after which they came to be gradually replaced, and this may help us to put some tentative later limit and not the earlier limit My remarks are based on a casual survey, and I hope that some Kannaḍa scholar would undertake a thorough and statistical study In this text initial *p* is usually retained *podapem* (p 3), *peldam* (p 11), *puttidom*, *puttidal* (p 33), also *vodan* (p 28) The inscriptions show that it is only after the 11th century that *p* was being gradually replaced by *h*⁴ Secondly, we come across unassimilated conjunct groups like *irddu* (p 48), *irppor* (p 55), *karccittu* (p 31), etc By the close of the 13th century this assimilation was an accomplished fact, though the tendency was manifest in the popular speech by the middle of the 12th century⁵ Lastly, we get verbal forms like

¹ Premī Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, p 513 f

² Journal of the University of Bombay, September 1942

³ Smith Early History of India, 3rd ed, Oxford 1914, p 456, Banerji Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India, Calcutta 1939, p 283

⁴ A N Narasimha A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions, Mysore 1941, p 2

⁵ Ibidem, p. 92

poridom (p 1), *kalvom* (p 12), *kūdidom* (p 27), *sattol* (p 34) also *sattaḷ* (p 34), etc. these are undoubtedly old forms¹, but they become rare after the 11th century². These linguistic traits indicate that the Kannada Vaddārādhane can be assigned, within the broad but definite limits of 898 to 1403 A D, probably to the 11th century A D

5 BHA ĀRĀDHANĀ AND THE DEPENDANT KATHĀNAKAS

After acquainting ourselves with various Kathākośas associated with the Bha Ā, it is necessary to note the gāthās which have served as the basis for different Kathās and to record the corresponding stories from the Kośas. In a few cases Śricandra has actually given the gāthās at the beginning of his stories, and Prabhācandra also notes a few words from them here and there. The numbers of gāthās, which are not referred to either by Śricandra or Prabhācandra, but noted by me, are put in square brackets. With minor changes made in the light of the variants given by the commentaries, the gāthās are reproduced from the Sholapur edition which is followed also in numbering the gāthās. Those gāthās that are not specifically commented upon by Śrīvijaya are marked with an asterisk at the end, and those that are not found in the Sholapur ed are put in square brackets and bear no serial numbers. When one gāthā corresponds to more than one story, I have put Devanāgarī numerals on the words of the gāthā. Now and then significant remarks from the Vijayodayā and the Mū-darpaṇa are reproduced. In the case of Harisena's Kośa (HK) and Nemiḍatta's Kośa (NK), the numbers are from the printed texts, Śricandra's Kośa (SK) is referred to by page numbers of the Karanja Ms, and the numbers of Prabhācandra's stories are continuous upto 90, and the following tales from the second part of the book are numbered 90*1, etc. In the last column the references from the Pañnas (Bh = Bhattaparinnā, M = Maranasamāhi, S = Samthāraga) and the Kannada Vaddārādhane (=V) are noted. Those from the Pañnas, it is hoped, will easily show the common capital of primary legends independently inherited by the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. When the gāthās from the Pañnas show an almost literal agreement I have added a sign of equation with them. This record of corresponding stories does not mean that the stories are in every way identical in all these sources, but it implies that these particular references should be studied by those who want to go into more details about an individual story from different works. In some cases the names too differ, but still the frame-work of the story and the motive are alike, in some cases the sources differ in their details, extent and sub-stories dealing with different births, and in a few cases the agreement is only partial and even remote. When the reference is not of an explicit character, difference of opinion is possible in spotting a particular gāthā from the Bha Ā and associating the stories with it, and that is why the numbers of gāthās proposed by me are put in square brackets. In spotting them I have scrutinised all the available evidence, both direct and indirect, in the form of serial character of the numbers of gāthās, common ideas, parallel expressions, significant terms and the suggestions from the commentaries. The task of marking out the stories from the continuous narration of Śricandra's text from a closely written Ms

¹ Ibidem, pp 168, 206

² My friend Prof K G Kundangar informs me that the Accusative termination *-ān*, the Loc termi *-ul*, and the 3rd p sing and pl terminations *-ān*, *-āl*, and *-ār*, which occur in the inscriptions of the 5th century etc, are not to be noticed in the Vaddārādhane (see the Halmiḍi inscription, Sources of Karnāṭaka History, p 20)

was a difficult one, but I have tried to do it as carefully as possible. The textual variants in the gāthās quoted by Śricandra are interesting from the dialectal point of view and deserve to be noted when a critical text of the Bha. Ā is attempted

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	ŚK ¹	PK	NK	Others
19	आराहणाए कजे परियम्मं सव्वदा वि करणिज्जं । परियम्मभाविदत्सं ह्रु सुहसज्जाराहणा होदि ॥	1 ^a	3			
22	जोगाभाविदकरणो सन्तू जेदूण जुद्धरंगम्मि । जह सो कुमारमल्लो रज्जपडायं बला हरदि ॥					
[23]	तह भाविदसामण्णो मिच्छत्तादी रिबू बिजेदूण । आराहणापडायं हरदि सुसथारंगम्मि ॥					
24	पुव्वमभाविदजोगो आरावेज्ज मरणं जदि वि कोई । खण्णुगदिट्ठतो सो तं खु पमाणं ण सव्वत्थ ॥					
44	सम्मत्तादीचारा संका कंखा तहेव विदिगिंछा । परदिट्ठीण पसंसा अणायदणसेवणा चेव ॥	4-6	4-6	6	6	
45	उवगूहणठिदिकरणं वच्छल्लपभावणा गुणा भणिदा । सम्मत्तबिसोधीए उवगूहणकारया चउरो ॥	8-10	8-12			
48*1	सहहया पत्तियया रोचयफासतया पवयणत्स । सयलत्स जेण एदे सम्मत्ताराहया होति ॥*	13	17	90*1	83	
87	अववादिदयल्लिगकदो विसयासत्ति अगूहमाणो य । णिंदणगरहणजुत्तो मुज्झदि उवधिं परिहरंतो ॥	14-5	17-19	90*1-3	84-5	
92	आणक्खिदा य लोचेण अप्पणो होदि धम्मसद्धा य । उगो तवो य लोचो तहेव दुक्खत्स सहणं च ॥	16	19	90*4	86	
113	काले ¹ विणए ² उवहाणे ³ बहुमाणे ⁴ तह अणिण्हवणे ⁵ । वज्जण ⁶ अत्थ ⁷ तदुभये ⁸ विणओ णाणम्मिअट्ठविहो ॥	17-26	20-25	90*5-14	87-96	
201	भयणीए विधम्मिज्जतीए एयत्तभावणाए जहा । जिणकप्पिओ ण मूढो खवओ वि ण मुज्झइ तचेव ॥ वि—जिनकल्पिको नागदत्तो नाम मुनिर्भगिन्याम- योग्यं कारयन्त्यामपि एकत्वभावनया मोहं न गतः । मू—जिनकल्पमाचरणविशेषं प्रतिपन्नो नागदत्तो नाम मुनिः ।	27	26	14 also 90*15	14	
262	तं वत्थुं मोत्तव्वं जं पडि उप्पज्जदे कसायग्गी । तं वत्थुमल्लिपज्जो जत्थोवसमो कसायाणं ॥	28	27	90*16		

¹ The numbered and the next unnumbered pages are referred to by the same number.

² See verses Nos 22-3 from that story

³ Compare especially verse No 17 of that story

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	SK	PK.	NK	Others
328	गुणपरिणामादीहिं य विज्जावच्चुज्जदो समज्जेदि । वित्थयरणामकम्मं तिल्लेयसंखोभयं पुण्णं ॥	29	28	90*17	97	
345	सुज्जणो वि होइ लहुओ दुज्जणसमेलणाए दोसेण । माला वि मोल्लगरुआ होइ लहु मडयससिद्धा ॥	30	29			
346	दुज्जणससग्गीए संकिज्जदि संजदो वि दोसेण । पाणागारे दुद्धं पिथंतओ बंभणो चेव । मू—बंभणो शिवभूतिर्नाम ।	31	29	15 also 90*18	15	
348	अदिसज्जदो वि दुज्जणकएण दोसेण पाउणइ दोस । जह घूगकए दोसे हंसो य हओ अपावो वि ।	32	30	16		
356	आसयवसेण एवं पुरिसा दोसं गुणं व पावंति । तम्ह। पसत्थगुणमेव आसयं अल्लिपज्जाह ।	33	30	90*19	98	
373	अप्पो वि परस्स गुणो सत्पुरिसं पप्प बहुदरो होदि । उदए व तेल्लिबिंदू किइ सो जंपिहिदि परदोसं ॥	34	35	90*20	99	
430*1	[चुल्लय ¹ पास ² धण्णंजूवा ³ रदणाणि ⁴ सुमिण ⁵ चक्क ⁶ वा । कुम्मं ⁷ जुग ⁸ परमाणुं ¹⁰ दस दिट्ठंता मणुयलंभे ॥* मू—एते चुल्लीभाजनादिकथासप्रदाया दशापि प्राकृतटीका- दिषु विस्तरेणोक्ताः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ।]	35-44	36 f	90*21	100	
547	जह बाल्लो जंपंतो कज्जमकजं व उवजुगं भणदि । तह आल्लोचेदव्वं मायामोस च मोत्तूणं ॥	45	38	17	16	
589	सिगतण्हादो उदगं इच्छइ चंदपरिवेसणे कूरं । जो सो इच्छइ सोधी अकहंतो अप्पणो दोसे ॥ मू—अत्र कथयार्थप्रतिपत्तिर्यथा-चन्द्रनामा सूपकार- परिवारहितो राज्ञा नि सारितोऽन्य कृत । परिवारेण च राज्ञा सह भोजनं परिहृतम् । एवमेकदा समायाते तस्मिन् राजनि भोक्तुमुपविष्टे गगने चन्द्रस्य परिवेष- मालोक्योक्तं लोकैरथ चन्द्रस्य परिवेषो जात इति । एतच्छ्रुत्वा परिवारः सूपकारस्य राजकुले प्रवेशो जात इति मत्वा भोक्तुं गतवान्न च कूरं प्राप्तवान् इति ।			18		
732	अच्छीणि संघसिरिणो सिच्छत्तणिक्काचणेण पडिदाणि । कालगदो वि य संतो जादो सो दीइससारे ॥	46	39	19 also 90*22	17	

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	ŚK	PK	NK	Others
737	भावाणुराग ¹ पेमाणुराग ² मज्जाणुराग ³ रत्तो वा । धम्माणुराग ⁴ रत्तो य होदि जिणसासणे णिबं ॥* [एक्का वि जिणे भत्ती णिहिट्ठा दुक्खलक्खणासयरी । सोक्खणमणताणं होदि ह्नु सा कारणं परमं ॥*]	47-50	42-3	90*23-6	101-4	Bh 64
739	दंसणभट्ठो भट्ठो ¹ ण ह्नु भट्ठो होदि चरणभट्ठो ² ह्नु । दंसणमसुयंतस्स ³ ह्नु परिवहणं णत्थि ससारे ॥	52-4	43-44	20 also 90*28, -29,-30	18, 105-6	Bh 65
740	सुद्धे सम्मत्ते अविरदो वि अज्जेदि तित्थयरणामकम्मं । जादो खु सेणिगो आगमेसिं अरुहो अविरदो वि ॥	55	46	21 also 90*31	19,107	Bh 67
746	एया वि सा समत्था जिणभत्ती दुग्गहं णिवारेदुं । पुण्णाणि य पूरेदुं आसिद्धिपरंपरसुहाणं ॥*	56	58	90*32	113	
[747]	तह सिद्धचेदि पवयणे य आइरियसव्वसाधूसुं । भत्ती होदि समत्था ससारुच्छेदणे तिग्वा ॥*	57	68			
748	विज्जा वि भत्तिवंतस्स सिद्धिसुवयादि होदि सफला य । किध पुण णिवुदिभीजं सिञ्जहिदि अभत्तिमंतस्स ॥	58	76			
[752]	वदणभत्तीमित्तेण मिहिलाहिओ य पउमरहो । देविदपाडिहेरं पत्तो जादो गणधरो य ॥	59	77			
759	अण्णाणी वि य गोवो आराधित्ता मदो णमोक्कारं । चपाए सेट्ठिक्कुले जादो पत्तो य सामण्णं ॥	60	78	23	21	Bh 81
772	जइ दा खंडसिलोगेण जमो मरणादो फेडिदो राया । पत्तो य सुसामण्णं किं पुण जिणउत्तसुत्तेण ॥ वि—वाक्यमत्राख्यानकं च ।	61	81	24	22	=Bh 87
773	ददसुप्पे सुलहदो पंचणमोक्कारमेत्तसुदणाणे । उवजुत्तो कालगदो देवो जादो महड्ढीओ ॥	62 also 63-70	82 83-97	25	23	
794	जीववहो अप्पवहो जीवदया होदि अप्पणो ह्नु दया । विसकंटओ व्व हिंसा परिहरियव्वा तदो होदि ॥	71 also 72	97 98		25	
799	मारेदि एगमवि जो जीवं सो बहुसु जम्मकोडीसु । अवसो मारिज्जंतो मरदि विधाणेहिं बहुगेहिं ॥	73 ¹	99(?)			
822	पाणो वि पाडिहेरं पत्तो छूढो वि सुसुमारहदे । एक्केण अप्पकालक्कदेण ऽहिंसावदगुणेण ॥	74	99	26	24	=S,96
837	सबं वदंति रिसओ रिसीहिं विहिदाओ सव्वविज्जाओ । भिच्छस्स वि सिञ्जंति य विज्जाओ सव्ववादिस्स ॥	75	100			

¹ Compare verse No 305 of this story

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	ŚK	PK	NK	Others
849	पावस्तागमदारं असत्त्ववर्णं भणति हु जिणिंदा । हिदण्ण अपावो यि हु मोसेण गदो वसू णिरयं ॥	76	100	27	26	Bh.101
[859]	अत्थम्मि हिदे पुरिसो चम्मत्तो विगदच्चेयणो होदि । मरदि व हकारफिदो अत्थो जीव खु पुरिसत्स ॥	77	104			
874	परदव्वहरणबुद्धी सिरिभूदी णयरमच्चयारम्मि । होदूण हदो पहदो पत्तो सो दीहसंसारं ॥	78	104	5, 28	5, 27	
[876]	देविंदरायगहवइदेवदसाहम्मिउगहं सम्हा । उगहविदिणा दिण्णं गेण्हसु सामण्णसाहणं ॥	79				
909	णीचं पि कुणदि कम्मं कुलपुत्तदुगुल्लियं विगदमाणो । वारत्तिगो वि कम्मं अकासी जह लंघियाहेदुं ॥ वि—वारत्तिगो नाम यति । मू—वारत्तओ वारत्तको नाम यतिः ।	80	108	29		
915	बारस वासाणि वि संवसित्तु कामादुरो ण णासीय । पादगुदमसतं गणियाए गोरसदीवो ॥ मू—गोरसंदीवो मुनिनामेदम् ।	81	109	30		
935	इहल्लोए वि महल्लं दोसं कामत्स वसगदो पत्तो । कालगदो वि य पच्छा कडारपिगो गदो णिरयं ॥ वि—वाच्यमत्राख्यानम् ।	82	110	31	29	
[942]	आसीय महाजुद्धां इत्थीहेदुं जणम्मि बहुगाणि । भयजणणाणि जणाणं भारहरामायणादीणि ॥	83-4				
[949]	साकेदपुराधिबदी देवरदी रजसोक्खपन्मदूठो । पंगुलहेदुं छूढो णदीए रत्ताए देवीए ॥ वि—गन्धर्वप्रवीणेन पञ्जुना सह जीवितुम- भिलषन्त्या ।	85	112	32	30	=Bh 122
[950]	ईसालुयाए गोववदीए गामकूडधूदियासीसं । छिण्णं पहदो तथ भल्लण पासम्मि सीहबल्ले ॥	86	112	33	31	
[951]	वीरवदीए सूलगदचोरददूठोदिठगाए वाणियगो । पहदो दत्तो य तहा छिण्णो ओदूठो त्ति आलविदो ॥	87	113	34	32	
999	उग्घेण ण वूढाओ ¹ जलंतचोरगिणा ण ददूढाओ ² । सप्पेहिं सावज्जेहिं वि हरिदा खद्धा ण काओ बिं ³ ॥* मू—काश्चन शीलवत्यः सुलोचनादयः ।	88-89	113f			

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	ŚK.	PK	NK	Others
1061	साधु पङ्क्तिद्वेदं गदस्स सुरयस्स अममहिशीए । णदं सदीए अंगं कोट्टेण जहा मुहुत्तेण ॥ वि—सुरतनामवेयस्स राक्कः । सदीए सत्ता शोभनायाः ।	91	114	35	33	
[1063-5]	वग्घपरद्वो लमो मूले य जहा ससप्पविलपडिदो । पडिदमधुबिंदुमक्खणरदिओ मूलम्मि छिज्जंते ॥ तह चेव मच्चुवग्घपरद्वो बहुदुक्खसप्पबहुलम्मि । संसारविले पडिदो आसामूलम्मि सल्लमो ॥ बहुविग्घमूसरोहिं आसामूलम्मि तम्मि छिज्जंते । लेहदि विभयविलज्जो अप्पसुहं विसयमधुबिंदुं ॥	92	114	36	34	
1082	जादो खु चारुदत्तो गोठटीदोसेण तह विणीदो वि । गणियासत्तो मज्जासत्तो कुल्लदूसओ य तथा ॥	93	114	37	35	
[1100]	सगडो हु जइणिगाए ससग्गीए दु चरणपब्भट्टो । गणियासंसग्गीए य कूबवारो तथा णट्टो ॥ मू-जइणियाए जैनिकानान्म्या ब्राह्मण्या.	94 95	118 119	38 39		
[1101]	रुहो ¹ परासरो ² सच्चई ³ य रायरिसि ⁴ देवपुत्तो ⁵ य । महिलारूवालेई णट्टा ससत्तदिट्ठीए ॥	96-99	119-24	40-43	36-38	
[1128]	गंयो भयं णराणं सहोदरा एयरत्थजा जं ते । अण्णोणं मारेदुं अत्थणिमित्तं मदिमकासी ॥	100	125	44	39	
[1129]	अत्तणिमित्तमदिभयं जादं चोराणमेक्कमेक्केहिं । मज्जे मंसे य विसं सजोइय मारिया जं ते ।	101	125	45	40	
1130-32	सगो महाभयं जं विहेडिदो सावगेण सतेण । पुत्तेण चेवा अत्थे हिदम्मि णिहिरिल्लगे साहुं ॥ दूओ ¹ बंभणं विग्घो ² लोओ ³ हत्थी ⁴ य तह य रायसुयं ⁵ । पहियं ⁷ णरो ⁸ वि य रायां ⁹ सुवण्णयारस्स अक्ख्वाणं ¹⁰ ॥* वण्णरं ¹ णल्लो ² विज्जो ³ वसहो ⁴ तावसं ⁵ तहेव चूतवणं ⁶ । रक्खं ⁷ सिवण्णीं ⁸ हुंहुहं ⁹ मेदज्जमुणिसं ¹⁰ अक्ख्वाणं ॥*	102	125f	46	41	=Bh 133
[1140]	अत्थणिमित्तं घोरं परितावं पाविदूण कं पिळे । लल्लं संपत्तो णिरयं पिण्णागंगंधो खु ॥	104	128	47	42	
[1144]	पढहत्थस्स ण तिसी आसी य महाधणस्स लुद्धस्स । संगेसु मुक्खिदमदी जादो सो दीहससारी ॥	105	129	48	43	
[1218]	कुट्टो वि अप्पसत्थं मरणे पत्थेदि परवचादीयं । जह उमासेणघादे कदं णिदाणं वसिट्ठेण ।	106	134	49	44	

Nos	Bhagavati Arādhana	HK	SK	PK	NK	Others
[1222]	सो भिदइ लोहत्थं गाव भिदइ मणि च सुत्तत्थं । छारकदे गोसीरं डहदि णिदाणं खु जो कुणदि ॥ वि-सारविनाशसाधर्म्यादमेदमाचष्टे-सूपकारोपरि कथा यो निदानकारी, तेन नौप्रभृतिकं विनाशितम् ।	107				
[1236]	कुणदि य माणो णीयागोवं पुरिसं भवेसु बहुगोसु । पत्ता हु णीचजोणी बहुसो माणेण लच्छिमदी ।	108	137	50	45	
1281	संभूदो वि णिदाणेण देवसोक्खं च चक्कधरसोक्खं । पत्तो तत्तो य चुदो चववण्णो गिरयवासम्मि ॥ मू-चक्कधरसोक्खं ब्रह्मदत्ताख्यद्वादशचक्रवर्तिशर्म ।	109	138			
[1286]	पम्भट्टबोविल्लभा मायासल्लेण आसि प्पदिमुही । दासी सागरदत्तस्स पुप्फदत्ता हु विरदा वि ॥	110	138	51	56	
[1287]	मिच्छत्तसल्लदोसा पियधम्मो साधुवच्छल्ले संतो । बहुदुक्खे ससारे सुचिरं पडिहिंदिओ मरिची ॥	111	139	52	47	
[1333]	कुलजस्स जस्समिच्छंतगस्स णिधणं वरं खु पुरिसस्स । ण य दिक्खिदेण इंदियकसायवसिण जिविटुं जे ।	112	139			
[1355]	सरजूप गंधमित्तो घाणिदियवसगदो विणीदाए । विसगंधपुप्फमग्घाय मदो गिरयं च सपत्तो ॥ मू-विणीदाए अयोध्याया स्वामी । विसपुप्फगंधं व्योष्टभ्रातृप्रयुक्तरीद्विषरजोवासितसुरभि- तमकुसुमगन्धम् ।	113	139	53	48	
[1356]	पाडलिपुत्ते पंचालगीदसदेण मुच्छिदा संती । पासादादो पडिदा णट्टा गंधव्वदत्ता वि ॥	114	140	54	49	
[1357]	माणुसमंसपसत्तो कंपिल्लवदी तथेव भीमो वि । रजभंठो णट्टो मदो य पच्छा गदो गिरयं ॥	115	140	55	50	
[1358]	चोरो वि तह सुवेगो महिलारूवम्मि रत्तदिट्ठीओ । विद्धो सरेण अच्छीसु मदो गिरयं च सपत्तो ॥	116	141	56		
[1359]	फासिदिपिण गोबे सत्ता गिहवदिपिया वि णासक्के । मारदूण सगुप्तं धूयाए मारिदा पच्छा ॥ वि-गिहवदिपिया राष्ट्रकूटभार्या ।	117	141	57	51	
[1374]	बारवदी य असेसा दड्ढा दीवायणेण रोसेण । बद्धं च तेण पाव दुग्गादिभयबंधणं चोरं ॥	118	142	58	52	

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	ŚK	PK.	NK	Others
[1381]	सहिं साहस्यो पुता सगरस्स रायसीहस्स । अद्विबलवेगा संता णट्ठा माणस्स दोसेण ॥	119	143	59	54	
[1388]	सत्सो य भरघगामस्स सत्तसंबच्छराणि णिस्सेसो । दुद्धो ढमणदोसेण कुम्भकारेण रुट्ठेण ॥	120	143	60		
[1392]	सव्वे वि गंथदोसा लोभकसायस्स हुंति णादव्वा । लोभेण चेव मेहुणहिंसालियचोज्जमाचरदि ॥	121	143	61	55	
[1393]	रामस्स जामदग्निस्स वजं धित्तूण कत्तिविरिओवि णिधणं पत्तो सकुल्ले ससाहणो लोभदोसेण ।	122	144	62	56	
[1518]	को णाम भवो कुलजो माणी थोलाइतूण जणमज्जे । जुव्वे पळाइ आवडिदमेत्तओ चेव अरिभीदो ॥	123				
[1526]	गाढप्पहारसंताविदा वि सूरारणे अरिसमक्खं । ण सुहुं भंजंति सर्गं मरंति भिउडीए सह चेव ।	124	145			
[1528]	केई अग्निमदिगदा समंतओ अग्निणा वि डज्झता । जलमज्झगदा व णरा अच्छंति अचेदणा चेव ॥	125				
[1539]	भस्सुकीए तिरत्त खजंतो घोरवेदणट्ठे वि । आराधणं पवण्णो ज्ञाणेणावंतिसुकुमालो ॥	126	145	63	57	=Bh 160 M 435-9 S 65-6 V 1
[1540]	मोगिलगिरिम्मि य सुकोसलो वि सिद्धत्थदइय- भयवंतो । वग्घीए वि खजंतो पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्ठं ॥	127	148	64	58	=Bh 161 M 466-7 S 63-4 V 2
[1541]	भूमीए समं कीलाकोट्टिददेहो वि अल्लचम्मं व । भयवंं पि गयकुमारो पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्ठं ॥	128	152	65	59	S 87 V 3
[1542]	कच्छुजरखाससोसो भत्तच्छइच्छिक्खुच्छिदुक्खाणि । अधियासियाणि सम्मं सणकुमारेण वाससयं ॥	129	152	3, 66		V 4
[1543]	णावाए णिब्बुडाए गंगामज्जे अमुज्झमाणमदी । आराधणं पवण्णो कालगओ एणियापुत्तो ॥	130	153	67	60	S 56-7 V 5
[1544]	ओमोदरिए घोराए भइवाहू असकिलिट्ठमदी । घोराए तिगिंछाए पडिवण्णो उत्तमं ठाणं ॥	131	153	68	61	V 6
[1545]	कोसंभीललियघडा वूढा णइपूरएण जलमज्जे । आराधणं पवण्णा पाओवगदा अमूढमदी ॥*	132	155	69	62	S 79-80 V. 7

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	SK	PK	NK	Others
[1546]	चंपाए मासखमणं करित्तु गंगातडम्मि तण्हाए । घोराए धम्मघोसो पडिवण्णो उत्तमं ठाणं ।	133	155	70	63	V 8
[1547]	सीदेण पुण्ववइरिदेवेण विक्कुळिवण्ण घोरेण । संतत्तो सिरिदिण्णो पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं ॥	134	156	71	64	V 9
[1548]	उण्हं वादं उण्हं सिलादलं आदयं च अदिवण्हं । सहिदूण उसहसेणो पडिवण्णो उत्तम अट्टं ॥	135	156	72	65	V 10
[1549]	रोहेडयम्मि सत्तीए हवो कौचेण अग्गिदइदो वि । तं वेदणमधियासिय पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं ॥ मू-अग्निराजनाम्नो राज्ञ पुत्रः कार्तिकेयसञ्ज ।	136	157	73	66	S. 67-9 V 11
[1550]	काइंदिअभयघोसो वि चंडवेगेण छिण्णसव्वंगो । तं वेयणमधियासिय पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं । मू-चंडवेगेण चण्डवेगनाम्ना राजपुत्रेण ।	137	158	74	67	S 76-8 V 12
[1551]	दंसेहिं य मसएहिं य खजंतो वेदणं परं घोरं । विज्जुच्चरोऽधियासिय पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं ॥ वि-विज्जुच्चरचोर ।	138	159	75	68	V 13
[1552]	इत्थिणपुरगुरुदत्तो सबलिथाली व दोणिमंतम्मि । डब्बंतो अधियासिय पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं ॥ मू-बल्लशिम्भिपूरितमर्कपत्रप्रच्छादितमथोमुख- भाजनं सर्वत्राग्निसवेष्टितं सबलिस्थालीत्युच्यते ।	139	160	76	69	S 85 V 14
[1553]	गाढप्पहारविद्धो मूइंगलियाहिं चालणी व कदो । तध वि य चिलादपुत्तो पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं ॥	140	162	77	70	Bh 88 M 427-30 S. 86 V 15
[1554]	धण्णो जडणावकेण तिकखकंडेहिं पूरिंदंगो वि । तं वेयणमधियासिय पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं ॥ वि-दडो दण्डनामको यतिः । मू-धण्णो धन्योनाम मुनि । दंडो इत्यन्ये । जमुणावकेण यमुनावक्रनाम्ना राज्ञा ।	141	163	78	71	M 465 S 61-2 V 16
[1555]	अभिणंदणादिगा पंचसया मयरम्मि कुंभकारकडे । आराधणं पवण्णा पीलिज्जता वि जंतेण ।	142	163	79	72	M 443 S 58-60 V 17
[1556]	गोट्टे पाओवगदो सुबंधुणा गोव्वरे पलिविदम्मि । डब्बंतो चाणक्को पडिवण्णो उत्तमं अट्टं ॥*	143	164	80	73	=Bh 162 S. 73-75 V 18
[1557]	वसदीए पलिविदाए रिट्टामबेण उसहसेणो वि । आराधणं पवण्णो सह परिसाए कुणालम्मि ॥	144	165	81	74	S 81-4 V 19

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK	ŚK.	PK	NK	Others
[1633]	अरहंतसिद्धकेवलिअधिष्ठत सव्वसंघसक्खिस्स । पक्खत्थानत्स कदस्स भंजणादो वरं मरणं ॥ मू-प्रत्याख्याताहारसेवनादित्यर्थ ।	145	165			
[1643]	होई णरो णिल्लज्जो पयहइ तवणाणदंसणचरित्तं । आमिसकलिणा ठइओ छांयं मइलेइ य कुलस्स ॥ वि-आमिषाख्येन कलीनावध्वन्ध. छायां कुलस्य मलिनयति परोच्छिष्टभोजनादिना ।	146 ¹	166			
[1649]	अवधिदृष्टाणं णिरयं मच्छा आहारहेदु गच्छन्ति । तत्थेवाहारभिलासेण गदो सालिसित्थो वि । वि-आहारलोलुपतया स्वयंभूरभणसमुद्रे तिमितिमिं गिलादयो मत्स्या महाकाया योजनसहन्त्रायामाः षण्मास विवृतवदना स्वपन्ति । निद्राविमोक्षा- नन्तरं पिहिताननाः स्वजठरप्रविष्टमत्स्यादी- नाहारीकृत्य अवधिष्ठाननामधेयं नरकं प्रविशन्ति । तत्कर्णवलग्नमलाहारा शालिसिक्थमात्रतनु- त्वाच्च शालिसिक्थसङ्गका यदीदृशमस्माकं शरीरं भवेत् किं नि सतुं एकोऽपि जन्तुर्लभते सर्वान् भक्षयामि इति कृतप्रणिधानास्ते तमेवावधि- स्थानं प्रविशन्ति ।	147	166	82	75	
[1650]	चक्रधरो वि सुभूमो फलरसगिद्धीप वंचिओ संतो । णट्टो समुद्दमब्धे सपरिजणो तो गओ णिरयं ॥	148	166	83	76	
[1716]	लोगो विलीयदि इमो फेणो व्व सदेवमाणुसतिरिक्खो । रिद्धीओ सव्वाओ सुविणगसदंसणसाओ ॥	149				
[1800]	जणणी वसततिलया भणी कमळा य आसि भज्जाओ । धणदेवस्स य एक्कम्मि भवे ससारवासम्मि ॥	150	166	84		
[1802]	कुलरूवतेयभोगाधिगो वि रया विदेहदेसवदी । वक्खघरम्मि सुभोगो जाओ कीडो सकम्मेहि ।	151	168	85	77	
[1804]	इहइ परल्लोगे वा सत्तू पुरिसस्स हुंति णीया वि । इहइ परत्त वा ख्खाई पुत्तमंसाणि सयमादा ॥	152	168			
[1806]	विमलाहेदु वंकेण मारिदो णिययमारियागब्भे । जादो जादो जादिभरों सुदिट्ठी सकम्मेहि ॥	153	168	86	78	

¹ Compare especially verse No 15 from that story

Nos	Bhagavati Ārādhana	HK.	ŚK	PK	NK	Others
[2073]	कोसलयधम्मसीहो अट्टं साधेदि निद्वपट्टेण । णयरम्मि य कोल्लगिरे चंदसिरिं विप्पजहिदूण ॥*	154	168	87	79	S. 70-1
[2074]	पाहलिपुत्ते धूदाहेदुं मामयकदम्मि उवसग्गे । साधेदि उवसग्गेणो अट्टं विक्खाणस किच्च ॥*	155	169	88	80	
[2075]	अहिमारण णिवदिम्मि मारिदे गहिसमणल्लिगेण । उड्डाहपसमणत्थं सत्थग्गाहणं अकासि गणी ॥* मू-अहिमारण अहिमारकनाम्मा बुद्धोपासकेन । णिवदिम्मि स्त्रावस्तिकानगरीनाथे जयसेनाख्ये । गणी यतिवृषभनामाचार्य ।	156	169	89	81	
[2076]	सगडालण वि तडा सत्थग्गाहणेण साधीदो अत्थो । वररुइपओगहेदुं रुट्टे णंदे महापउमे ॥*	157	170	90	82	

Mutual relation etc., of some of these Kośas have been partly noted above (p 62 f), and the relation of Harisena's Kathākośa with other Kośas would be discussed below

6 HARISENA'S KATHĀKOŚA A STUDY

(1) Name, Extent etc

Harisena's Treasury of stories has attracted the attention of scholars from a pretty long time. Though the text was not printed, the story of Bhadrabāhu was used by Rice, Narasimhacharya¹ and others in their discussion about the migration of the Jaina Sangha to the South, especially to Śravaṇa Belgola, when a severe famine raged in Northern India. Pt. Premi published its *prasaṣṭi* and introduced it to Hindi readers, and lately he has revised some of his earlier opinions². There has appeared a Marāṭhī digest of a portion of it³.

Now it has been abundantly clear to us that this Treasury of stories presents a series of tales which illustrate the veiled and explicit allusions found in the Bha. Ārādhana. Not only this relation is well established but all the stories are also serially associated with the gāthās from that work⁴. In the absence of their context in the Bha. Ā., the stories, though quite significant individually and showing some affinity of subject-matter among themselves in small groups, stand without mutual connection and continuity as such. Harisena has not given the gāthās with which the stories are to be associated, and he gives very

¹ Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions pp 2 f., Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II, 1st and 2nd eds., Bangalore 1889 and 1923, Intro. pp 37f. of the 2nd ed.

² Jaina Hitaśhī, 14, pp 216-18, Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka I, 1, 59-62, Jaina Sāhitya aurā Itihāsa, pp 434-9.

³ Bṛhatkathākośa, part 1 (stories 1-66, the last story being that of Mṛgasena), by Ajñāta, Osmana-bad, Vira Sam. 2463.

⁴ See Section 5 above where the gāthās and the corresponding stories from different Kośas are noted.

little hint on this point by saying that the Kathākośa composed by him is *ārāḍhanoddhṛta* (Prāśasti 8), meaning thereby that the stories are drawn out, extracted or chosen from the *Ārāḍhanā* which stands for the Bhagavati Ā. perhaps inseparably connected with some Prākṛit commentary that gave all these tales. We cannot easily take *ud dhṛ* in the sense of *udāhṛ* and argue that they are illustrative stories on the *Ārāḍhanā* gāthās. *Harīṣeṇa* uniformly calls this treasury, Kathākośa; and he has not added any specification like *Prabhācandra* and *Nemidatta* who qualify their Kathākośas by the term *Ārāḍhanā*. There are two colophons which mention the name as *Brhat Kathākośa* (pp 276 foot-note 1 and 356); but it is equally possible that these might belong to the copyists. The *Prāśasti* mentions the name Kathākośa, and it is likely that later on the adjective *Brhat* came to be added perhaps to distinguish it from smaller collections of *Prabhācandra* and *Nemidatta*, and on the analogy of *Brhatkathā* etc. This title, being already accepted in circulation, has been retained in this edition. The term *brhat* connotes bulk and extent, so it is difficult to say whether it is anticipated by the adjective *param* in one of the *Mangala* verses (No 3)

The total *Grantha-samkhyā* is given to be 12500 Ślokas. Apart from the *Mangala* and *Prāśasti* sections, the text is said to contain 157 stories. The story No 102 contains ten sub-stories, and I have already shown above (p 5 of the Intro) how a slight readjustment is necessary to arrive at the correct number of stories. The whole work is composed mostly in *Anustubh* metre, and a few longer metres, some quoted and some composed by the author himself, are found here and there. Among the quotations there are *Anustubhs* as well as *Prākṛit* gāthās. Almost all the quotations are anonymous, they are not necessarily introduced by the phrase *tathā cōktam* etc, and there are reasons to believe that some verses, which form a part of the running text, might turn out to be quotations¹. In the extent of individual Kathānakas there is a good deal of disparity: the shortest (No 125) contains 4 verses and the longest (No 57) 585 verses.

(ii) Various Strata of the contents etc

All these stories have their seeds in the *Bhagavati Ārāḍhanā* which is primarily a religious scripture meant mainly for the study of Śramaṇas, and consequently their background and outlook are predominantly religious and ascetical. As it is usual with *Jaina* tales, many of the stories deal with the biographies not only of individuals but also of their souls migrating through various births. This naturally leads to the emboxing of sub-tales into tales, and the structure of the tale assumes some complexity. For the author, however, this mode of composition has a two-fold advantage: first, it gives him a sovereign method of illustrating the reward of virtues and punishment of vices in a subsequent birth, if not in this, and thus strengthens the faith of pious believers in the potentiality of moral values and the inviolability of the omnipotent law of *Karman* which automatically works and necessarily accompanies the doctrine of transmigration so far as *Jainism* is concerned, and secondly, it affords an opportunity for the author to present the same character in its various facets and under varying conditions through the infinite vista of the soul's journey. Chances, accidents, mishaps and traits of individual character, which usually control and guide the threads of the story, are all traced back to some *Karman* or the other in one of the past lives. At times a pair of souls is selected and their fate,

¹ See my remarks on some of these quotations in the Notes at the end

in relation to each other, is elaborated through the tedious journey of Samsāra (No 109)¹ Some of the lengthy stories (Nos 56-7, 73 etc) do show these traits; and they assume an awful dignity which evokes sympathy for the characters that are suffering for their sins which the reader would like to avoid, of course sub-consciously, in his daily conduct, and thus escape the sad lot which faces the sinner elsewhere. Almost as a corollary from this we find here an enormous bulk of stories in which various religious virtues are illustrated. some specifically pertain to the ascetic life and some to that of a house-holder. Their number is pretty big in this book, and they comprise Jaina tenets connected with Samyaktva (Nos 4-12, 52-5, 63-71, 111), Ālocanā and Pratyākhyāna (Nos 14-16), the nature of Samsāra and the rarity of human birth etc , (Nos 35-44, 92, 149-53), devotion to religion, scripture, teacher and religious observances (Nos 13, 22, 29, 47-51, 56-62), the five Vratas (Nos 46, 72-9, 126), control of passions and subjugation of senses (Nos 28, 81-91, 93-110, 112-22, 147-8), stray virtues and practices (Nos 17-21, 23-30, 33-4, 45, 80), putting up with *Parisahas*, and facing death quietly and courageously (Nos 1-2, 124-5, 154-7). Then we have a substantial stratum of ascetic tales (Nos 126-46 etc) giving some biographical details about great ascetics who patiently endured various hardships and attained the highest spiritual object, and some of them are common to both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. It is highly probable that at least some names are historical and have been handed down to posterity as inspiring ideals of ascetic culture to be followed as examples by those that want to lead a monastic life. There are a few stories which are not only sectarian and propagandistic but preach also pious rituals consisting of fasts etc (Nos 57, 59 etc). The repetition of *Pañcanamaskāra* is attended with some miraculous power that comes to one's rescue in adversity and any attempt to dishonour it leads to ruin (Nos 52, 60, 62-3). There is a small section at the beginning of story No 46 which can be called a purely dogmatic discourse, and the whole text is replete with references to Jaina dogmas and technical terms. Besides ethical preachings, we come across some philosophical discussions too (No 73). In many of these tales what matter most are the motif and crucial details and not the various names scattered throughout the frame-work of the narrative.

In spite of the religious spirit permeating almost all the stories, this *Kośa* is not altogether devoid of secular interest. Tales which have nothing specially religious about them but which are primarily meant for amusement and general instruction of worldly wisdom are scattered all over this work, at times subordinated to the mission of religious-moral instruction which the author has on his hand. The narratives, *Liquor-vendor* and *Brahmin, Owl and Swan, Parrots in good and bad Company, Housewife and Mongoose, Physicians and Tiger* etc (Nos 31-33, 102*2-*3) are fables meant for didactic instruction, and their frame-work, ideology etc , not only remind us of the class of literature to which *Pañcatantra* etc , belong but one of them (102*2) is found also in the *Pañcatantra V*. Their concluding verses are similar to those in the *Jātakas* and sayings of worldly wisdom found in texts like the *Pañcatantra*. Some of the *Kathānakas* narrated by *Yamapāśa* in the royal assembly (No 63) belong to this type. There are a few genuine folktales incorporated in some of our stories, and their motifs are well-known in other branches of Indian literature: No 21 brings out a contrast between a good wife and a bad one; the *Kāyastha* misreads

¹ Bloomfield has already noted that such illustrations are found in plenty in the narrative literature of the Jains in particular and of India in general, see *Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pārśvanātha*, Baltimore 1919, Intro pp 13-6

the father's letter (reading perhaps *andhāpaya* for *adhyāpaya* (No 23)¹, and once he reads *stabha* for *stambha* (No 25); Abhayakumāra skilfully meets the royal orders to fetch a well from a village, to weigh an elephant, to shift a well to the west of the village etc (No 55, see also No 157), a go-between outwits the gate-keepers and brings the required lover to the queen (No 60); and lastly an innocent cartman is duped by the villagers (No 120) The tests put by Kṣīrakadambaka on the wisdom of his pupils (No 70) are certainly a few amusing bits from popular stories There is no piece of folk-tale which is foreign to our author and which cannot be improved upon for religious edification, if it can be made to illustrate the virtue which he wants to preach There are other contexts which give interesting insight into the complicate workings of human mind at times plainly illustrated and at times symbolically put we come across an avaricious merchant (No 104), a greedy maternal uncle (No 105), a treacherous wife (Nos 85, 87), a jealous cowife (No 86), a noble and self-sacrificing husband (No 85), a passionate monk (Nos 81, 95, 98), a loving mother (No 145) etc, and once a lover, endowed with miraculous power, converts himself into a bee and hovers round the face of his beloved (No 80) Then it is some technical terms, on account of their specific and obscure meanings, that have given rise to a few anecdotes *viṣāṇna*=special, rich and flavoured food which gives physical strength, lustre and vigour (No 6 20); *yauvana*=warmth or freshness of food (No 14 13), *maṣi*=husked and fresh *mudga* beans (No 24 37), and *collaka*=a specified dish (No 35 34-5)

The chief object of most of these tales is to edify Jainism and impress on the minds of readers the greatness and power of Jaina religion, and thus propagate in the society the religio-moral ideals upheld by Jainism These are not purely dogmatical and ethical discourses, but after all they are tales, and as such they are strewn with secular topics which also provide instruction and often give an agreeable entertainment

(iii) Cultural Heritage and Literary Kinship of this Work

In the light of the Vedic and Śramanic ideology, the outlines of which have been already sketched in short, a dispassionate evaluation of the contents of this Kathākośa definitely points to the fact that they stand for Śramanic ideology The Vedic cult of sacrifice, the priestly religion and rituals, the epic mythology and the doings of Purāṇic deities and personalities are referred to in this work only to be criticised and condemned On the other hand, nearly all the traits of Śramanic ideology, as inherited by Jainism, are admirably upheld throughout this book The doctrines of rebirth and Karman are illustrated almost by every lengthy tale The worldly possessions and pleasures have their worth, but it is low and ephemeral as compared with the bliss of Nirvāṇa In these tales are introduced the Tīrthakaras and eminent teachers who disillusion the worldly-minded people about their manifold attachment with the result that they grow pessimistic, are inspired by an optimistic disposition towards liberation, enter the ascetic order, and practise a severe monastic course putting up with all sorts of hardships They have very little attachment even for the body which they fully use for spiritual meditation Physical comforts have no allurements for them, and they gradually grow so indifferent and plunge themselves in self-absorption that no bodily pain, not even physical torture, disturbs their equanimity and peace The Ārādhana tales about the ascetic martyrs, who are inspiring models

¹ It may be a confusion between the Prākṛit forms *amdhāvehu* and *addhāvehu* or *amdhiyau* and *adhiyau*

for other monks fully confirm this. Individual spiritual perfection is the highest religious ideal in tune with which the entire ethical code, in its two parts, one meant for householders and the other for monks, is laid down, and the moral outlook is evolved. The vigilant law of Karman governs every one's destiny, and there is no place for any God bestowing favours and meting out punishments. There are, however, a few stories in which semi-divine or heavenly (to be distinguished from the liberated) beings and supernatural or miraculous powers come to the rescue of religious people at critical moments (Nos. 4, 7, 11, 16, 19, 26, 54, 64, 66, 113, 134, etc.). Exceptional sanctity is bestowed on life, and Ahimsā is the highest moral principle guiding all human affairs. The moral values and social virtues inculcated in these stories are usually those that are found accepted in Jainism. They are so often preached and illustrated with a profuse use of Jaina technical terms that some stories become specifically sectarian, and direct and indirect attack is driven against other religions. In some of the stories the Astāhnika-pūjā is referred to. It is believed that gods etc., go to the Nandiśvara-dvīpa and offer worship to the natural deities in the 52 temples standing in four quarters there. Corresponding to this the Jains celebrate this Parvan thrice a year, in their temples, during the months of Āsādhā, Kārtika and Phālguna from the 8th day to the Purnimā when fasts are observed and Pūjās performed. It is also called Nandiśvara-parvan and Kaumudī-mahotsava, the latter being characterised by certain jubilant festivities on the day of Purnimā or full moon. During this Parvan, a declaration to the effect that no living being was to be killed was made, and there was celebrated the Ratha-yātrā also possibly in competition with that of the Buddhists and Brahmīns (Nos. 12, 33, 56-7, 63, 115, 134, 139). Other religious observances such as Rohini- and Pañcamī-vrata are described in some tales (Nos. 57, 124, 145). Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Buddha are the popular non-Jaina deities mentioned in this text, and some antipathy is shown towards non-Jaina religions devoted to these deities (Nos. 7, 33, 55, 96-7, 99, 122, 156 etc.). A Tāpasa and a Bhāgavata are ridiculed in some stories (Nos. 19, 106), and more than once the sacrificial cult, involving harm unto living beings, is condemned (Nos. 11, 76, 93).

The very fact that all the stories from this Kośa arise from direct and indirect allusion found in the Bhagavati Arādhana shows that their motifs are pretty old. There is every reason to believe that some of them were found in the canon, said to be lost now, but whose tables of contents have come down to us in the Digambara works. The skeleton of a story from the Drstivāda is given in the Maranasamāhi, and some of the details of a story from this Kośa (No. 78) have a close resemblance with it. As far as ascetic tales are concerned, the Nos. 126-8, 130, 132, 136-7, 193-44 etc. have their basic references in the Pañnas of the Ardhamāgadhi canon as well. Some of the events and stories connected with Hariṁśa in general and Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva in particular (Nos. 11, 29, 34, 76, 78, 88, 93, 106, 108, 118 etc.) have their counterparts in the canonical texts like the Anta-gadadasāo and other earlier texts like the Vasudevahindī of Sanghadāsa¹ and the Hari-vaṁśa of Jināsena². These Jaina sources contain much that is interesting and independent so far as Kṛṣṇa legend is concerned. Dr Alsdorf³ has critically studied them, and he remarks thus: 'In all these [Jaina] versions one has to admit, to a greater or smaller degree, a secondary production from the literary tradition of the Brāhmanas. By the expression

¹ Published in the Ātmānanda Jaina Granthamālā, vols. 80-1, Bhavanagar 1931.

² Published in the Māpukachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, vols. 31-2, Bombay.

³ Hariṁśapūrāṇa, Hamburg 1936, Intro. pp. 119-20.

secondary is meant that in any case the original reception of the Kṛṣṇa and Mahābhārata sagas has not come from the Harivaṃśa or the Mahābhārata, at least not from the literary sources. It is indeed long-known that the real ancient Jaina tradition possesses some amount of independence as against the Brahmanic one, and even occasionally, though in rare cases, has preserved an old original trait which is obliterated from the epic-Purāṇic tradition as available to us'. The stories of Viṣṇukumāra, Kādārapinga, Cārudatta etc. (Nos 11, 82, 90) are traced to the Vasudevahindī (pp 120, 296). The details about the life of Cārudatta (No 90), who is closely associated with the Jaina Harivaṃśa, who with his companions like Marubhūti, Gomukha etc., and his connections with Kaliṅgasenā reminds us of some contexts in the Brhatkathā, and who has been immortalised by Bhāsa and Śūdraka in their plays, deserve to be studied critically with the help of Jaina and non-Jaina sources.¹ The Pāṇḍava-legend, so far as the early Jaina sources like the Nāyādharmakāhā, Pañṇas etc., are concerned, is closely associated with the Kṛṣṇa-legend in which Kṛṣṇa figures as a brave hero. We have in this Kośa a few tales connected with Pāṇḍavas (Nos 58, 83, 96). Once the author narrates the story according to the Mahābhārata, but condemns it as heretical and incredible (No 83 45-9). The killing of Paraśurāma on the field and subsequent destruction of Brāhmanas twentyone times by Subhūma (Nos 59, 122), which are also described in the Vasudevahindī, Harivaṃśa etc., only supplement the Paraśurāma-legend which we get in plenty in the Mahābhārata. There is one story (No 84) which gives the Kathānaka of the Rāmāyana, and there is another (No 89) in which Sītā is passing through an ordeal after which she accepts Jaina renunciation under Samyamasena. J. Dahmann² conjectures in his *Genesis des Mahābhārata* that there must have existed an independent heroic saga dealing with the conflict between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsamdha in which the latter was killed by Kṛṣṇa himself and only fragments of which are found in the present Mahābhārata where the act of killing is attributed to Bhīma. That both Kamsa and Jarāsamdha are to be killed by Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is specifically mentioned in one of our stories (No 106 198, 217). Some of the characters in Nos 143, 157 etc., figure also in the 4th and 5th Tarangas of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and they might go back to the original Brhatkathā. The Jaina mythology recognises 12 Cakravartins (No 41 1-2) with whom are associated cycles of stories specimens of which, connected with Sagara, Sanatkumāra, Subhūma, Hariṣeṇa and Brahmadaṭṭa, are found in this work (Nos 119, 129, 122, 148, 33, 35, 52, 109). Among these Subhūma kills Paraśurāma, Sagara is well-known in Purāṇic mythology, and the legends about Brahmadaṭṭa are found in Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu works.

Subsequent to the period of our Kathākośa, that is roughly after the first quarter of the 10th century A.D., the Jaina contributions to Indian literature have been both extensive and interesting. Space prohibits me from tracing the influence of these stories on later authors and noting the common points, wherever available, in different works. It may be added, however, that there are a few stories, occupying just individual sections here, that have later on grown into independent themes on which series of authors have composed their works in different languages. Hariṣeṇa's Kathākośa being a dated work, the form and the contents of these stories would be of great help to those who want to study their motifs at different stages of Indian literature. Some of the striking tales

¹ F. Lacôte *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Brhatkathā*, Paris 1908, and also its English translation in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore 1923.

² I am thankful to Dr. A. M. Ghatge for kindly drawing my attention to this.

of this type are those of Karkaṇḍa (No 56), Arhaddāsa (No 93) and Yaśodhara (No. 73) The story of Arhaddāsa is known later as Samyaktva-kaumudī

The above review makes it clear that many of the stories have so often appeared and reappeared, with or without variations, in different strata of Jaina literature in particular and Indian literature in general that it is necessary that individual stories, in view of their specific motifs and details, should be selected for intensive study, and their gradual evolution should be marked out at its various stages, separating the basic kernel from the incidental accretions and detached sub-stories. As a preliminary step towards this study, both in the Introduction here and in the Notes at the end, I have tried to put together some useful references from different contexts which can be enriched by further studies

(iv) Interesting Social, Historical etc Bits of Information

In this Kathākośa of Harisena there is abundant information which would be interesting to a student of Indian religions in general and of Jainism in particular. Some items I have already noted above. This being a dated work of specified locality, the various bits of information of cultural interest have a definite chronological value, though it cannot be claimed that all of them belong only to the age and place of our author. For a student of Indian folklore, who occupies himself with the study of customs, rites and beliefs which are current in the society in different places and at different times, there are some points of interest in our stories. The geographical background of our author is primarily the Madhya-desa, that is central India and the adjoining territory. He mentions some important towns of the South, and bears testimony to repeated communications between the Uttarā- and the Dakṣiṇā-patha (No 7 etc). More than once travels to distant countries by sea are mentioned, and once the Yavana script is referred to (No 22). There is an interesting mention of a rich Pārasika who buys Cumkārikā, feeds her for six months, and takes blood with the help of leeches from her body, and it was used for dyeing Krmī-rāga-kambala (No 102* 1 80-2). The idea of using blood in preparing blanket-dye is recorded by Āśādhara also. In explaining gāthā No 567 of the Bhagavatī Ārādhana which runs thus

किमिरागकंबलस्स व सोधी जदुरागवत्थसोधीव ।

अवि सा हवेज्ज किहइ ण तधिमा सल्लुद्धरणसोधी ॥,

he remarks

किमिरागकंबलस्स कृमिभुक्ताहारवर्णतन्तुभिस्तु कम्बल कृमिरागकम्बलस्तस्येति संस्कृतटीकायां व्याख्यानम् । टिप्पनके तु कृमिरागवत्तरक्ताहारस्त्रितन्तुनिष्पादितकम्बलम्येति । प्राकृतटीकायां पुनरिदमुक्तम्-चर्मरङ्गम्लेच्छविषयेम्लेच्छा जलौकाभिर्मानुषरुधिरं गृहीत्वा भण्डकेषु स्थापयन्ति । ततस्तेन रुधिरेण कृतिपयदिवसोत्पन्नविषमकृमिकेणोर्णसूत्रं रञ्जयित्वा कम्बलं वयन्ति । सोऽयं कृमिरागकम्बल इत्युच्यते । स चातीवरुधिरवर्णो भवति, तस्य हि वह्निना दग्धस्यापि स कृमिरागो नापगच्छतीति ॥

Vidyādhara and Cārana monks are introduced in some stories (Nos 7, 11, 46 etc). Utterance of certain holy syllables leads to the acquisition of miraculous powers (Nos 4, 10 etc). Besides magical collyrium and pills (Nos 10, 63) and the medicinal effect of Gandhodaka (No 13), we get references to Ākāśa- and Śighra-gāminī Vidyās, and the Vetāla Vidyā practised by a Kāpālīka (Nos 4, 80, 64, 102). As useful information, we get a list

of articles of food (Nos 10 75-6), a reference to Laksapāka oil which is a patent medicine against skin-burning (No 102 25), an enumeration of different classes of serpents and their behaviour (Nos 10, 112), a statement of divisions of time (No 99 14), the description of Candrakavedha target (Nos 43, 57, 116), and the definitions of terms like *ibhya* etc, and *grāma* etc (Nos 87 5-7, 94 14-17) We find in one story that a burglar breaks open the door by throwing *saṛṣapa* or mustard seeds against it (No 10 15) A poor Brahmin, with a *bijapūra* or citron fruit in his hand, goes to a merchant, announces the birth of a son to him, and is amply rewarded in return by the merchant with the ornament on his body and one hundred villages (No 127 32-4) We get some forms of public condemnation here and there A culprit has his head besmeared with ashes or shaved leaving five tufts of hair and tied with *pañca-bilva*, his property is confiscated, and he is driven through the town on the back of an ass (Nos 11 139, 23 31, 24 38, 78 87, 82 39-40) Presentation of black clothes, of a pair of black oxen and of dark (or iron) implements indicates contemptuous treatment (No 157 10) A messenger from an offensive party has his head cleanly shaved and his ears and nose chopped off (No 62 27-8) A student of fiction finds in this Kathākośa various motifs that are grouped under conventional captions¹ such as Biter bit (Nos 64-5, 72), Wicked ascetics (Nos 19, 64, 93 78, 102 9), Śibi motif (No 85 7f), Pistakurkuta (No 73 226), Elephant selecting an heir apparent included under Pañcadīvyādhivāsa (No 56 258), Pregnancy whim (Nos 56 156 f, 106 129 f), Human sacrifices (No 73), Proclamation by drum (No 57 210), Immediate causes of renunciation like a momentary cloud, a grey hair etc, (57 452 and 574) These are not necessarily connected with Jaina dogmatics and religion

Then we get in this work some pieces of information referring to historical events It must be admitted at the outset that our author is not in any way contemporary with the events What he records is a tradition, it certainly carries a weight of evidence for the past as it occurs in a text of definite date and place, and, so far as the evidence of ancient India is concerned, nearer we push the tradition to the period of the event, more genuine is its authenticity and more credible its authority King Śreṇika, alias Bimbhasāra, who was a contemporary of Mahāvira and who is known as Bimbisāra in Indian History, is a memorable figure in the Jaina tradition, and the entire Purāṇic lore of the Jainas, in one way or the other, centres round this great Magadhan king to whom we get repeated references in the canonical works of both Buddhists and Jainas It is just possible that facts and edificatory legends might have got mixed in course of time There are a few stories in this Kośa which deal with Śreṇika and his queen Celanā (Nos 9, 10, 55, 80, 130-40 etc) Though it presents some difficulties for a clear understanding and consequently needs careful collation and comparative study with other sources, both earlier and later, the story of Bhadrabāhu (No 131) is important in various respects it refers to the migration of Jaina Samgha to Punnāta territory in the Deccan² and to the division of twofold Kalpa, Jina- and Sthavira-kalpa, and outlines the circumstances under which Ardhapālaka-samgha, Kāmbala-tīrtha and Yāpaniya-samgha³ were started Quite casually, in one of the stories (No 97 198), the origin of Phallus worship is mentioned, and elsewhere we are informed

¹ The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pāravanātha by M. Bloomfield, Baltimore 1919, pp 183-207

² Epigraphia Carnatica, II, Intro pp 37 etc, also The Traditional Chronology of the Jainas by S. Shaha, pp 45 f, Stuttgart 1935

³ Journal of the University of Bombay, vol I, part vi, May 1933, Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, pp 51-60.

that Sāṃkhya religion was preached by Marīci (No 11 14) Well known figures like Cāṇakya, Vararuci, Kārtikeya are introduced in some of the stories (Nos 143, 157 and 136) The story No 26 gives an illustrative anecdote incorporating the historical facts about the composition of the Satkhandāgama by Puspadanta and Bhūtabali who are mentioned here as Devabali and Puśpabali, and we get these details confirmed from other sources also The story number 12, verse 132, refers to the founding of five Stūpas at Mathurā of which the Jaina Stūpas are well known Somadeva also refers in his Yaśastilakacampū to the Devanīrmitastūpa at Mathurā in a similar story It has to be seen whether there was, or there are any relics of, a group of five Stūpas at that place In this context I am reminded of the facts that the Nirgrantha Śramaṇācārya Guhanandin (Samvat 159) is called Pañcastūpa-nikāyika and that Virasena and Jinasena belonged to Pañcastūpānvaya¹ Lastly, so far we know, Harisena is the first author to describe the caves on the hills adjoining Dhārāsīva (modern Osmanabad) near Tera which according to this text is situated in the Abhīra country (No 56) It is an urgent need that these topics should be critically studied using all other sources, and then alone it would be possible to separate historical events from their legendary settings

(v) Its Relation with Other Kathākośas

Among the four Kathākośas, or even five if we treat Vaddārādhane as a partial Kathākośa, whose story-numbers have been tabulated above along with the Ārādhana gāthās, Harisena's Treasury contains the biggest number of tales, its text is the longest in extent, it is the earliest in time, generally its stories are comparatively more exhaustive than those in other Sanskrit collections, and lastly the correspondence of its stories with the gāthās of the Bha Ā is more exhaustive and perfect, and thorough in sequence It is really unfortunate that no Ārādhana Kośa earlier than that of Harisena has come to light, so for the present there is no evidence to assess his indebtedness to his predecessors

The four Kathākośas clearly fall into two groups those of Harisena (HK) and Śricandra (ŚK) show closer kinship and stand together, while those of Prabhācandra (PK) and Nemidatta (NK) show a close mutual relation and form a group by themselves almost independently Whenever we want to compare these groups or works mutually, we should not lose sight of the basic connection with those direct and indirect allusions in the Bha Ārādhana A close comparison of HK with ŚK discloses some interesting facts Reading these two texts side by side, one is struck by the remarkable agreement in the sequence of stories adopted by both The essential contents of individual stories are nearly identical in both, so far as descriptions, details about Bhavas and sub-stories are concerned, HK is more exhaustive, almost in every case the stories from ŚK look like summaries of the corresponding stories of HK, and when the contents are alike, the verbal agreement also is striking Though Śricandra is silent in the matter, the above points lead us to the conclusion that he might have used HK in preparing his Kośa For this conclusion we have some circumstantial evidence too Harisena flourished earlier than Śricandra, Śricandra admits that Kathākośa was composed by many monk-poets before his time, Śricandra complains possibly against some predecessor who gave only the stories

¹ See Yaśastilakacampū, part II, p 315, The Jaina Antiquary, VIII, 2, p 45, A list of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and derivative scripts, Epigraphia Indica XIX-XXIII, p 283, No. 2037, Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, p 497

without giving and explaining the contextual gāthās from the Bha. Ā., and we find that this complaint suits very well with HK which does not give the gāthās. Going into more details, we find that Śricandra omits, sometimes silently and at times with specific remarks, some of the stories found according to corresponding sequence in HK. I have not been able to detect in ŚK the tales corresponding to Nos 73, 79, 83-4, 90, 102* 9, 107, 123, 125, and 149 of HK. With regard to Nos 73, 83 and 84, Śricandra plainly says that Yaśodhara's tale is too well-known to be given and the stories of Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa are endless. This means that the stories were present in his sources, but he has not given them. As far as I have inspected the Ms, he quietly passes over the remaining numbers, and it is difficult to gauge the reasons of this omission. There are reasons to believe that besides HK, Śricandra might have used other sources also including perhaps some commentaries on the Bha. Ā. Looking at the facts that Prabhācandra, Śricandra and Nemidatta quote the 2nd gāthā of Bha. Ā. (the first two, along with the first gāthā), that the colophons of some of the opening stories of PK and NK show that there could be some stories connected with Darśanoddyota, and that Śricandra also illustrates twofold Uddyotana, we are led to the presumption that in an earlier source some stories were connected with the 2nd gāthā of Bha. Ā. which is not illustrated by Harisena in any way. In this context Śricandra gives the stories of Bharata and Jitaśatru as examples of Laukika and Lokottara Uddyotana, and for these there are no corresponding tales in HK. Secondly, if ŚK were to be solely based on HK, it is difficult to explain certain phonetic difference seen in some of the proper names. Śricandra reads Jasahara, Viśambhara, Doṇimamta and Kuccavāra (PK Dronimati 90*30, Kūcavāra 39), while Harisena reads in corresponding contexts Yaśoratha, Viśamdharma, Tonimam and Kūpakāra (Nos 5, 54, 95). Lastly, if Śricandra followed only the text of HK, apparently there is no reason why some of the Sanskrit verses, which are given by him as quotations, should widely differ in readings from those still present in the Kośa of Harisena. We might compare 54, 17-8, 57 518-9, and 143 37-39 with the extracts given by me in the Notes. There are major differences in the readings, as they are being preserved in the body of an Apabhramśa text, that they are quotations is quite apparent, and if Śricandra took them from HK, he would not change them, because he is quoting. So my explanation is that Śricandra has before him some additional sources, perhaps common with those used by Harisena, Śricandra quotes them perhaps as they are, Harisena, however, retouches those verses because some of them are to form a part of his running Sanskrit text, and they are not necessarily quotations with him in the strict sense of the term. Just in this manner Amitagaṭi also rewrites in his own words some of the verses which stood as quotations in the Prākṛit source used by him in composing his Dharmaparīkṣā¹. I have been able to detect at least one instance where Śricandra's quotation² is nearer the original, i.e., Bha. Ā. 682, than that preserved in HK (No 57 531). Thus it is quite possible that Śricandra had before him the Kathākośa of Harisena, but he appears to have used some additional sources, some at least perhaps common with those of HK, in composing his Apabhramśa Kośa.

Turning to the next group, we have already studied the relation between PK and NK. the latter, though it omits some stories given by the former, is mainly indebted to PK and to Prabhācandra's commentary on the Ratnakaraṇḍāka. There is one significant story

¹ See my paper Harisena's Dharmaparīkṣā in Apabhramśa, Silver Jubilee Volume, Annals of the BORI, 1942.

² See Notes on 57 531. See my paper 'Śricandra and his Apabh. Kathākośa' contributed to the Radha Kumuda Mookerji Presentation Volume which is awaiting publication.

in NK, No 25, that of Mrgasena-dhivara, which is not found in PK but is found in H. The story is nearly identical in contents, but there is nothing specifically common which would induce us to accept that NK is following HK. Though the sequence of stories is disturbed by indiscriminate use of more than one source in compiling the Kathāk, it has to be admitted that Prabhācandra presents sufficient evidence to show that the stories are connected with the Bhaga. But this connection has become simply nominal in the case of NK: there are no introductory remarks, as in PK, connecting the stories with the Bhaga. Some of the stories, which are legitimately connected with the Bhaga and which are duly given by PK (PK Nos 29, 30, 40, 84 etc.), Nemi-datta omits, and we do not know why, and at the close of his work, he adds a few stories which are connected with the Ratnakarandaka and the relation of which with Bhaga in that context is difficult to be established. So it is not quite necessary to compare NK with HK in all the details. We might simply note that the Nos 1-4, 7, 8, 10, 28 (compare HK 68), 53, 108-12 and 111 of NK have not got their counterparts in HK, and if we compare closely HK and PK we are doing the necessary justice to the second group too.

Even a superficial comparison between HK and PK shows that the former contains numerically 35 stories more, and every one of its story, whenever it is common, is longer and gives more details. HK is composed in verses, but PK is in prose with occasional metrical quotations, and according to rough clerical calculation PK is just one-fifth of HK. As seen from the table given above, many stories from HK are not found in PK, and a few stories from HK are given twice by PK, and what is more important, PK gives so many stories which have no counterparts in HK. Of the eight stories (PK Nos 1-4, 7, 8, 10, and 18) which are additional in PK, No 3, the story of Sanatkumāra, which gives nearly the same details as in its No 66, can be easily equated with No 129 of HK. Though the contents of some stories are common with those of HK, it is reasonable to take that Nos 1-12 in HK form a solid block: the first four illustrate Uddyotana and the next eight are devoted to the limbs of Samyaktva. The topics are connected with gāthā Nos 2, and 4 of the Bhaga, therefore, though Hariṣeṇa and Prabhācandra may differ among themselves, we have to admit that the stories given by them are not in any way foreign to an Ārādhya Kośa. Nos 1, 2 and 4 give details about some eminent authors, namely, Pātrakesari, Akalaṅka and Samantabhadra, who are brilliant figures in the annals of Indian literature and some of whose works have come down to us. How far these details are historical, what are the earlier sources to confirm them, and what events can be accepted as historical facts: these are independent questions that must be tackled on their own merits, and that these stories are inauthentic because Hariṣeṇa has not included them in his work is not a relevant deduction, because Prabhācandra had before him other sources, his stories are legitimately Ārādhana tales, and because he is not mechanically following Hariṣeṇa. We have assigned Prabhācandra to the close of the 11th century A.D., and it is rather unfortunate that all the sources of PK have not come to light so far. The verse *anyathā* etc., given in Pātrakesari's story is a pretty old verse often quoted in logical treatises, the verse *nāhamkāra* etc. from Akalaṅka's story is also found in one of the Śravaṇa Belgol inscriptions¹ of 1128 A.D., and the verse *pūrvam Pātali-putra* etc. (quoted along with *Kāñcy* etc.) is not only found in the above inscription but is given also at the close of Svayambhūta stotra in some MSS. The facts that some of these verses are in the first person and that they stand like quotations even in PK probably indicate that Prabhācandra's details may

¹ Epigraphia Carnatica II, No 67, verses 23 and 7.

go back to an earlier source The story No 18, which is fully reproduced by me in the Notes on No. 45, is important in various ways It is connected with gāthā No. 589 of the Bha Ā which contains a direct allusion, and has, therefore, a legitimate place in the Kathākośa, it is not found in the Kośa of Harisena, and lastly, the story becomes intelligible only on the assumption that it had its original in Prākṛit

Prabhācandra is completely silent about his sources and predecessors Chronologically HK is older than PK by more than a century A close comparison of the common stories between HK and the first part of PK shows common contents, but the elaboration and sequence of events in the story and expression indicate rather a common source than Prabhācandra's indebtedness to HK Some of the verses quoted in both the Kośas come from the same common source (HK Nos 15 16, 31 13) Prabhācandra is concerned primarily with the immediate story with its absolutely necessary details, while Harisena adds more past and future births in a verbos style and with all possible details (HK 127, PK 64, HK 139, PK 77) The stories in the second part of PK, which form a supplementary unit, give, however, a different impression All the thirtytwo stories correspond almost to a continuous section from HK, roughly Nos 13 to 56, among the stories repeated in both the parts, the one in the second or supplementary section agrees more closely with that of HK in its narrative sequence and phraseology (HK No 46 and PK Nos 19 and 90*22, etc), and lastly, at least in a few places (Notes on No 13) we can lay our finger on identical expressions These facts lead me to a tentative conclusion that Prabhācandra might have used HK, in addition to his other sources, at the time of adding these supplementary stories Thus the common stories between HK and PK go back to an identical source, directly or indirectly, but the stories from the supplementary section of PK do betray, in all probability, the influence of HK

(vi) On the Language of the Text

We use the designation Classical Sanskrit¹ for that phase of the language which has been standardised by Pāṇini and his followers in their grammatical treatises, and which is represented by artistic and ornate compositions so successfully attempted by eminent authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and others Pāṇini's norm of correct speech is the one sanctioned by Śiṣtas, and consequently the works of Kālidāsa, Bāṇa etc can be enjoyed and appreciated by intellectual aristocrats who are already trained in the niceties of language and diction Pāṇini and his immediate commentators are primarily concerned with maintaining a refined standard of language from which are eschewed all 'vulgarisms' current in the world or in ordinary life of the uninstructed populace, and naturally, therefore, the texts in classical Sanskrit have no special appeal to the uneducated masses as distinguished from the instructed classes and audiences of experts

We need not doubt that Sanskrit was a spoken language, may be in restricted sections of the society and for religious and scholastic purposes It is difficult to believe that the spoken language was of the type of, much less identical with, what we come across in

¹ Wackernagel Altindische Grammatik, vol I, pp 1X-LXXIV, Macdonell A History of Sanskrit Literature, pp 22-28, Keith A History of Sanskrit Literature, pp 1-36, Chatterji The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Introduction, Bloch L'Indo-Aryen du Veda aux Temps Modernes, Paris 1934, especially the Introductory portion, Chatterji Indo-Aryan and Hindi, Ahmedabad 1942, Lectures II-IV.

the works of Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti and others who must have mastered the grammar and crammed the lexicons before they developed such an elaborate style, with its mechanisms like Samdhi, monstrous compounds and artificial minting of meanings, where elegance and brevity were achieved by sacrificing naturalness and clearness. Whenever the social circle of appeal was wider and the subject-matter was more popular and less scholastic, the degree of the standard of refinement was bound to be lowered down, and the popular speech was bound to develop solecisms, both regional and temporal, which would quietly creep into popular works. Side by side with the refined phase of the language, which has come down to us in written records, there is evidence to believe that there were popular dialects current according to localities and strata of the society, and some of their elements go back to a period earlier than classical Sanskrit. Mahāvira and Buddha preferred popular dialects of Magadha for their preachings. The earliest inscriptions like those of Asoka and Khāravela and coins fully bear out the fact that these dialects were the forerunners of Prākṛits whose conventional usage in the dramas possibly had at its basis somewhat corresponding conditions in the society at some early period of Indian history. Thus the Sanskrit texts meant for a wider circle were exposed to solecisms which might arise from both ungrammatical Sanskrit and Prākṛitism, the distinction between which, though subtle, is possible and needed for practical purposes. The element of Prākṛitism, in its various aspects, becomes predominant and conspicuous when the author is steeped in the study of Prākṛit works, these constituting the canonical literature of his religion, when Prākṛit was his mother-tongue, or when the works were composed with Prākṛit originals.

All these tendencies get illustrated in the wide range of Sanskrit literature. The classical authors like Kālidāsa are liable to minimal amount of solecism, and some complaints have been already made against them by later critics. When we come to the epics, especially the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, there are many forms and expressions which are un-Pāṇinian,¹ often betraying contamination with the speech-habits so usual in Prākṛits. As it may be expected in unrefined speech, delicate grammatical distinctions are not specially attended to, stray irregularities are normalised, rightly or wrongly analogical formations are set into vogue. In short, the grammatical restrictions get loosened and the tendency towards simplifying the language is apparent everywhere. Some of them can be defended by a liberal and hypercritical interpretation of the Sūtras of some grammatical system or other. Commentators and intelligent copyists have felt offended at their presence, and a careful study of various readings indicates that constant attempts, independently carried on at different places and by different hands, have been made to normalise them.² Purāṇas and Sanskrit texts on technical sciences present specimens of loose Sanskrit both in their vocabulary and grammatical forms. The Buddhist and Jaina authors were usually well-read in their religious works in Pāli and Prākṛits. The measure of Prākṛitism in their works often depended upon individual mastery over Sanskrit grammar and expression. Even an elegant stylist like Asvaghōṣa³ is not immune from them, and works like the Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu in mixed Sanskrit (Gāthā dialect) of Northern Buddhism contain plenty of them. The Jaina authors from the South are comparatively more free from this influence, but those from the North, especially Gujarāta and Madhyadeśa,

¹ J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* vol. I, pp. XLIV etc.

² V. S. Sukthankar, *The Mahābhārata*, vol. I, Prolegomena, pp. XCIII etc.

³ *The Buddhacarita*, ed. by E. H. Johnston, Punjab University Oriental Publications, Nos. 31-2, Intro. pp. 67-79 of the 2nd part.

are more exposed to it. Even eminent Sanskrit-grammarians like Hemacandra have not avoided Prākṛitisms. If the Bower Ms, the Sanskrit digests of the Brhatkathā, and the Sanskrit texts like the Dharmaparīksā of Amitagatī, Parīśista-parvan of Hemacandra and Samarāditya-samkṣepa of Pradyumnasūri contain Prākṛitisms, it is mainly due to the fact that the works are based on Prākṛit originals directly or indirectly. Like Siddharṣi who wrote his Upamitubhavaprapaṇcā kathā at the beginning of the 10th century A.D., some authors studiously wrote in simple and popular Sanskrit that it might be understood in a wider circle of readers. Further whenever a text belongs to the class of popular epics and draws its material from Prākṛit sources, it would certainly exhibit both Sanskritic solecisms as well as Prākṛitisms.

The medieval Sanskrit texts, especially those composed by Jaina authors from Gujarāta and round about, have attracted the attention of eminent orientalists from a pretty long time, and their language has been subjected to critical study by scholars like Weber, Jacobi, Hertel, Bloomfield and others¹. The orthodox Sanskritists may shun such a study²; but a dispassionate linguist wants to have a fair acquaintance with the internal and external vicissitudes to which the Sanskrit language has been subjected throughout its phenomenal career, for him, there is nothing correct or incorrect, every authentic fact of the language has a judicious place in his study, and he would critically ascertain its exact position in the evolution of that language. Or as Jacobi remarks 'it is considered the duty of a philologist to note such peculiarities in style, language, metrics etc., of the work he edits, as characterize its position in the Literature to which it belongs'. The Kathākośa of Harisena is being printed for the first time, and it would be worth the while to study its language from this point of view. Our limitations are plain: the text is not quite critical, all the three Mss. being of the same family, and more Mss. will have to be collated to arrive at a moderately final text. Some verses do present difficulties of interpretation. For the present, authenticity of the text amounts to the agreement of three Mss. It is not the intention of the editor to find fault with the author's language, but with all modesty he is trying to note down the salient linguistic peculiarities of the text, as it has come down to him, in the background of classical Sanskrit. Grammatical standard, howsoever safe, has a limited and relative value, it cannot be avoided altogether, but it has to be supplemented with fresh facts from the various ranges of literature which alone present a historical perspective of the whole language. Remembering that Harisena's text is dated and the home of its composition quite definite, the linguistic facts assume a special significance. It is hoped that a student of Sanskrit and allied languages will welcome these facts for what they are worth.

In addition to the orthographical peculiarities noted above (p. 3), it may be added here that sometimes *r* has a consonantal pronunciation (17. 1, 157. 73), *ś* and *s* are con-

¹ Bloomfield 'The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pārśvanātha' Baltimore, 1919, on the language of the text pp 220-39, also Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel Göttingen 1923, Some aspects of Jaina Sanskrit, pp 220-30. Jacobi 'Upamitubhavaprapaṇcā kathā', Bibliotheca Indica ed., Preface pp. XX etc. Haragovinda and Becharadāsa Śrī-Śāntināthamahākāvya (Śrī-Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā vol 20, Benares Veer-Era 2437), Prastāvanā pp 3 etc. Hertel 'The Pañcatantra-Text of Pūrṇabhadra', HOS, 12, Pūrṇabhadra's Language pp 31-36, also his paper, 'On the Literature of the Shvetambaras of Gujarat' Leipzig 1922, especially, pp 14f. Upadhye 'Varāṅgacarita', Bombay 1938, Intro pp 42-48. Mul Raj Jain. Citrasenapadmāvatīcarita, Lahore 1942, Intro pp 23-30.

² See Bloomfield's paper 'Some Aspects of Jaina Sanskrit' and the editorial remarks in the Prastāvanā of Śāntināthamahākāvya noted above.

fused in words like *śmaśāna* or *śmaśāna* and *ucchiṣṭa* or *utsiṣṭa* (56 235, 12 85), *y* and *j* are interchanged, and it is not unlikely, if some of them go back almost to the archetype. Hiatus is often allowed not only at the end of a pāda (10 96, 63 99, 73 23, etc.) but at times also within the body of it (11 40d, 85 52a etc.) There are some abnormal **Samdhis**: *adyameva* (12 119), *khaḍgastha* for *khaḍgahasta* (63 191), *śeṣatonmūlayāmi* (143 29), etc. Some words show alternative spellings *Konikā*, *Kaunikā* (61 26 f), *Cānakya*, *Cāṇakya* (143 3 f), *śramana*, *śravana* (74 36 f), *Somilā*, *Somillā* (3 14 f), while others have fluctuating bases *kuśa*, *kuśikā*, *kuṣī* (104 13 f), *ksīra*, *kṣīri*, *ksīri* (10 71 f), *padaka*, *paṭuka*, *paddika* (121 13 f). A few words attract our attention with respect to their **genders**: *kṣiti* M (93 246), *dhvani* F (60 11), *nigraha* N (7 28), *bhūmi* M (4 33), *rakṣa* M (53 18), *vidhū* F (91 22), *samdhū* F (11 92). We meet with some of the **feminine bases** like these *jāṭismarī* (126 171, 127 224, also-*smarā* 126 196), *dhūrtī* (99. 60), *purahsarī* (57 55) *manoharī* (optional, 76 162, 97 3, 127 227 f), *vastālikā* (64 70), *śrāvakī* (12 120). Then *bhavantī* (106 52) for *bhavatī* shows that the fem suffix is added to the strong base. There are a few words which indicate some partiality towards **vowel-ending** for instance, *āgasa* for *āgas* (64 48), *cetasa* for *cetas* (12 84, 70 156), *bhagava* for *bhagavat* (19 11, 46 117), *rodhasa* for *rodhas* (19 9) and *śarma* for *śarman* (105 102), of course the Sanskrit lexicons allow *śarma* and *vardhakū* (55 182) for *śarman* and *vardhaka*.

Coming to **declensions** we get *tārī* (56 137) and *srī* (57 262, 127 208) besides *śrīh* in the Noun sing, *nr-rājan* (157 73) and *mahā-rājan* (126 162) in the Voc sing, and *paścimasyām* (71 1, 99 53) for the usual *paścimāyām* of the Loc sing. Then *asunā* (78 244) is used in sing perhaps in the sense of *ātman* and *anehāh* (98 70) in pl perhaps meaning days, also *anehas* (102 115) in the sense of time. Among the pronominal forms we get *me* for *mayā* in the Inst sing (15 12, 19 63, 30 17) and *imam* for *idam* neuter Nom or Acc sing (45 29, 63 55, also 55 16). There are some conspicuous numeral formations *caturvimsat* for *caturvimsati* (105 331), *pañcāmī* for *pañca* (126 150), *pañca-daśānī* for *pañcadaśa* (57 460), *dvādaśānī* for *dvādaśabhiḥ* (praśasti 12), *dvādaśama* for *dvādaśa* (109 27), and *śataikam* for *ekasatam* (concluding colophon).

Some of the **abstract nouns** are good examples of contamination, their formation being a compromise between two well-known forms *adarśatā* (56 410, cf *adrśyatā* and *adarśana*), *mānuṣya*, a man (73 248, cf *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya*), *samīpyatā* (93. 212, cf *sāmīpya* and *samīpata*), *hīlana* (97 74, cf *hīlanā* and *helana*). We have some illustrations of double abstraction *vātsalyatā* (73 294) and *vināśata* (19 30). Then *dhīra* and *dhairya* (52 15), *maṇḍalena* for *mandalatvena* (73 44) *sālasa* for *sālasya* (127 214, 153 5) and *sthīra* for *sthiratva* (6 52) are found used in this text.

The **k-suffix** plays a remarkable rôle in the language of this text. It is added to nouns etc., without any notable change in the meaning, it is simply pleonastic or *svārthe k*, as the Prākṛit grammarians call it *kanyakā* (65 20), *ghūkaka* (32 22), *caturthaka* (129 2), *dhātṛikā* (60 168), *binduka* (102*6 6), *bhūmkā* (11 133), *mandaka* (7 68), *Mālavaka* (28 1), *vipraka* (139 103), *salākikā* (50 15), also note *ahīnakam* (74 33), *ūnaka* (139 39), *ekakam* (74 32) *kṣanamātrākam* (63 87), *vārakam* for *vāram* (71 29). Still more conspicuous is its presence in a series of pronominal forms scattered all over the text, a few typical ones may be noted here for illustration, and they are arranged in this order of the pronouns *asmad*, *yusmad*, *tad*, *etad*, *idam*, *adas* and *yad*. **Nom** sing *sakah* (4 32, 10 16, 59 37), *takah*, (122 16), *sakā* (4 18, 7 64, 8 13, 12 2), *esakah* (126 80), *yakah* (56 220)—dual *takau* (57 56, 332, 126 4)—pl *take* (11 67, 78 39, 100 17), *takāh*

3. 17, 57 524), *imakāh* (136 2), *yake* (16 32, 33 140), *yakāh* (68 46) **Acc sing** : *makām* (102 74, 106 60), *takām* (4 17, 32, 6 9, 7 45, 30 23 etc.); *takām* (60 75, 68 65); *svakām* (4 6) —pl *takān* (10 21, 33 140), *imakān* (76 19), **Inst. sing** *takayā* (21. 21) —pl *imakāh* (57 149) Whitney¹, Edgerton² and others have discussed the different aspects of this *k*-suffix, and Edgerton has already noted how *asakau* is allowed by some grammarians and forms like *anyake*, *yake*, *sakā*, *takā* are found in pre-classical Sanskrit I may add here a few more references casually noted by me The Bhag Ā uses *tago* [= *takah*] for *sah* and *tagī* [= *takī*] for *sā* (gāthā Nos 508, 1058), Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa uses *yakā* for *yā* (23 28), and Jagannātha Pandita uses *mayakā* for *mayā* in his Citramīmāṃsa khandana (p 1)³ The suffix *l* also is found in some words *andhala* (3 3), *paṅgula* (85 43 f), *Yājñavalka* (93 233), etc The possessive suffixes *vat* and *mat* are at times confused in forms like *Lakṣmīmātī* (11 62, 33 8), and the readings also are uncertain

From the following forms it would be apparent that these roots do not stick to the strict classical convention with regard to **Padas**, Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada *uttisthate* (64 16), *jalpate* (57 550), *tiṣṭhate* (127 172), *bhave* (12 60), *abhimantrayan* (81 51), *āprcchat* (93 300), *palāyanī* (59 86), *prārthaya* and *prārthayantyā* (12 51, 127 4), *bhīṣayan* (45 3), *marāmi* (33 90, 54 29), *mrgayan* (93 30), *vismayan* (127 221), *aśīsat* (116 38) It is interesting to note that some of them are either rare or agree with epic usages We come across a few **unsanctioned verbal forms** *nirūpa* for *nirūpaya* (57 469), *prapāya* for *prapāyaya* (62 14), *ānayisyati* for *āneṣyati* (57 301), *ghāṭisyati* for *ghātayisyati* (106 221), *nivṛttayāmasa* for *nivartayamāsa*, also *nivṛttamana* (33 27, 33 28, 81 49) There are some forms of the **Causal** with the augment *-āpaya-* *kārāpayāmi* etc, (25 7, 46 40, 54 29, 46 33, 56 409, 71 24, 32), note also *śisyāpita* (35 7), *śikṣāpana* (98 106, 102 65), *ksamāpana* (102*10 28) The form *upopapadyate* (47 144) shows double preposition, *nirmīlita* really stands for *nimīlita* (93 218), and *uttīrna* (56 313), *samuttīrya* (56 330), *uttīrya* (105 157), *uttutāra* (97 53) etc go back to the root *ava-tr* and not *ut-tr* In having the **feminine base** from the present participles, scrupulous distinction is not made between the usual weak and strong grades, so we get such forms *kurvantī* (60 48, also 94 24, 97 46, etc), *tiṣṭhatī* (106 26), *nindatī* (14 28), *rudantī* (33 19, 46 140) The form *vakṣyamāna* (85 52) shows a future base in the absence of a present one The past passive participle form *musta* (126 162) is rare Among the unusual **gerund** forms, the following may be noted *nirūdhvā* (80 33), *bhunktvā*, besides *bhuktvā* (57 496, 558), *visarjya* (76 76), *vyāpayitvā* (12 128), *snāpya* (56 260-3) and *sthāpya* (93 286)

Turning to the **compounds**, the lengthening of the final vowel of the first member seen in *cakravartī-sukham*, *cakrī-kathānakam* (129 3 and colophon) and the retention of *r* of the first member seen in *mātr-pitrnimittatah*, *-samāyuktaiḥ* (11 133, 12 63) are not quite regular The collective neuter sing is not observed in some of the Samāhāradvandva compounds *nāsākarnau* (84 24), *mukha-bāhūru-pādebhyah* (99 9), *hastyaśva-ratha-pādātah* (156 20) In some of the compounds of the Karmadhāraya and Bahuvrīhi types, the expected sequence of words is not maintained *nagottunge* (56 8), *apīta-soma-pūrvo'pi* (76 112), *kara-kumbhaṃ gayam* (56 258, 98 43), *jaya-nanda-kṛta-svānā* (85 32), *varatrāropita-skandham* (80 25), *sva-nivedita-vṛttāntā* (97 70) We get *nirdoṣī* (31 34)

¹ A Sanskrit Grammar, London 1896, sections 494, 1186, 1222, etc

² Edgerton's discussion is confined to pre-classical Sanskrit, see The *k*-suffixes of Indo-Iranian, Journal of the American O S, vol XXXI, p 93f

³ In a Ms of the Aṣṭāhnikakathā (No. 469 of 1884-86, Bhandarkar O R Institute) the form *mayakā* for *mayā* is used thrice in the Prāsaṭi,

besides the usual *nirdoṣaḥ* (32. 26). The following three illustrations show a strange type of compound. *rajanī-pāścime yāme* (139 135), *śarvārī-pāścime yāme* (28. 43), *haridrā-pāścime yāme* (26 4) It may be noted as a rare usage that *bahih* and *samam* are compounded with their nouns *Ujjayani-bahih* (150 36, 45), *ghūka-samam* (32 14), *Nāgavarmā-samam* (50. 11) The compound expressions *yathā-sambhavataḥ* (60 159) and *yathepsayā* (60 124) are not unusual in the epics. We get in this text *tūṣṇī-bhāvā* for *tūṣṇīm-bhāva* (55 136, 154, 291, 127 68)

Coming to the **Syntax**, in some sentences Acc is used for Nom. *bhagavan kām guṇān tasyāḥ śrāvikāyā nivedaya* (7 18), *ācāryāḥ prthivyādy-asudhārrināḥ saḥjan itī bruvanti* (7. 97), *kimkṛtam te'tra copasargam vadāṣu me* (8 25, see also 127 172) Elsewhere too Acc is irregularly used (2 5, 4 63), and the roots *ās* and *sthā* govern Acc (8 6, 64 29, 82 25). We get some illustrations of **Instrumental of purpose**. *pravṛṣṭo nṛpasevayā* (63. 111), *nṛpam gacchati sevayā* (66 73, also 76), *caurikayā gataḥ* (59 21) Possibly Dative is used for Gen *sva-gurubhyām puro 'kṣipat* (76 43), *ārāt* governs Gen instead of Abl (16 45), and the roots *smṛ* and *pra-hi* govern Gen (54 54, 56 173, 55 97) Gen is used for Dat *pariprāpteh* (55 288) and for Abl *prāṇānām api vallabhā* (60 67), *upādhyāyasya pathati* (27. 17).

The Imperative 2nd p sing form *dehi* is used in the sense of the Present (70 62, 105 18, 138) Many a form from the **primitive base** are used **with a causal meaning**. *apasasāra* (57 210), *uccaran* (11 132, 126 161), *dadarśa* (7 80), *pradadarśa* (108 45, but correctly at 60 below), *prakāśase* 46 153), *prajāyā* (139 105), *pratiṣṭhitaḥ* (57 272), *prāpya* (124 12), *boddhavya* (27 6), *mamāra* (45 17, 52 21, 102*2 13, 109 34, 117 21, 127 272, 139 38, 148 5), *sasnau* and *sasnuh* (85 40, 134 23, 98 48, but correctly at 45 above), then some forms of the **causal base** are used **with the primitive sense**: *khādayanti* (126 46), *nīdayitvā* (59 31), *pīṣayitvā* (*peṣayitvā*) (93 16), *pravartayāmāsa* (28 8), *yācayamānā* (119 6), *yācayitvā* (115 10, 127 76), *yācayisyē* (93 267), and for some of these we get epic parallels We get many illustrations of what may be called **Instrumental Absolute** (56 169, 73 206, 74 8, 96 66, 108 3, 139 86, 150 8) The Gen Absolute is used without any indication of 'disrespect' (56 272, 118 50). Very often Perfect participles are used as finite verb *īrvān* (73 9, 66), *tasthivān* (2 14, 4 29, 46 58, 50 10, 139 50, also *tasthuṣi* 54 63), *śuśruvān* (51 3) Sometimes the forms of the Potential serve the purpose of the Past *kuryuh* (9 27, 41), *prcchet* (127 188) *bhavet*, *bhavetām* (105 128, 56 49) *syāt*, *syātām* (97 17, 56 9, 73 28, 93 22), and note also the Benedictive for the Past *stheyāt* (56 225) Some forms of the Passive are used for the Active *hriye* for *hare* (53 8), *hanyamānau* for *ghnantau* (76 52) We get some illustrations of *bhūna-kartrkatva* (8 40, 19 21, 70 66-7) The comparative *tarām* is separated from the finite verb (12 40) The gerund *samārūhya* is used intransitively (115 4), the root *ram* is transitive (40 3), and *sam chid* has a cognate object (81 37)

It will be seen in the following cases that the verb agrees with the noun-predicate and not with the subject *śumsumāro mṛtim prāpya jātā'jā* (73 75), *devo Manoramah Yaśodharābhudhā kanyā jātā* (78 158), *Rukmini strītvam ādāya jāto divi suro mahān* (108 125)

The Locative Absolute is coupled with *yāvat* and *tāvat* (1 5), both of them are used in the sense of *yadī* and *tarhi* (114 31), *yāvat* denotes space and governs Acc (55 271) Often *vā* is used in the sense of *iva* (40 13, 56, 198 93 98) At 85 56 *yadī* is perhaps used in the sense of *yad*, that The appositional numeral is of feminine gender, *catasrah*, and not of mas. or neuter as expected in view of the subject being constituted of members of different sex (106 268).

Here and there some expressions are open to the flaw of **tautology**: *atañi-vana*, *udyāna-vana* (49 3, 57. 502, 60 59, 105. 49), *anya-janma-bhavāntaram* (11. 32); *alpa* and *manāk* (73 42), *kasmāt* and *kim* (46 103), *vidhāya* and *krtvā* (105 49), *vāhi-mārgam* (76 14), *śobhanam* and *yujyate* (106 128), *sarva* and *sakala* (68 63)

At times even proper names are easily translated Śākracāpa and Indradhanuṣ (33 87 and 99) The author is in the regular habit of **dividing the members of a compound** expression, more usually proper names, by inserting words like *ādi*, *anta*, *pūrva* etc., only a few select illustrations may be noted here *anu-nagaram Gīri-purvakam* (127 206), *kāndādīkam patam* (8 19), *candrāntam Śrutasāgaram* (11 65), *Ķīna-Vasvādīkau dattau* (49 4), *paryādi-vrājīkā* (76 181), *pūrvottara-padāyukta-Mathurā* (12 125), *mālāntā Kanakādīkā* (5 4), *Rājopapadam grham* (9 1), *Rāja-pūrva-grham* (9 2), *saranam sama-vādīkam* (10 46), etc

The **lexical material** presented by this text is of great interest for the student of Sanskrit vocabulary These stories, as we have seen above, arise out of a Jaina religious text, naturally they contain so many Jaina technical terms that are freely used It is true that they are not usually recorded in ordinary Sanskrit Dictionaries with their specific shades of meaning A specialist, however, can very easily ascertain their meanings by using various Jaina texts and their commentaries In view of the linguistic purpose of the present study, Jaina technical terms are not included in the following list Besides these terms, we come across a large number of words which can be classified¹ according to some predominant tendencies represented by them First, there are many new words and formations, and also such words as are recorded in indigenous lexicons but are of rare usage in classical literature, a few are found in the Vedic language and are used here perhaps through the source of Kośas, some of them show notable variation either in their form or meaning, and as such they deserve to be taken into account Secondly, there are Back-formations Phonetically and apparently they look like Sanskrit words, but really speaking they are skilfully Sanskritised, rightly or wrongly, from well known Prākṛit words used in Prākṛit literature and recorded in Prākṛit Dictionaries either as Prākṛit or Deśī Thirdly, there are Hyper-Sanskritisms These are also back-formations in a way, but they are given a super-Sanskritic appearance and they exist by the side of other ordinarily Sanskrit words of accepted usage Fourthly, there are Prākṛitisms which are straight way borrowed from Prākṛit with some or without any minor changes like the addition of *ka*-suffix Lastly, there are the Vernacularisms, in view of their form or meaning They easily remind us of some words in modern Indian languages, Āryan or Dravidian, for which Prākṛit or Deśī words may be or may not be detected This five-fold classification cannot be rigorous, but it holds good for all practical purposes. In recording the following facts, I have constantly used A Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Monier-Williams (New ed., Oxford 1899) and the Pāia-sadda-mahannavo by Sheth (First ed., Calcutta 1928) The following abbreviations are used below D = Deśī, noted from the Prākṛit Dictionary, g = gloss, i e., the marginal gloss recorded in the foot-notes of the printed text, Pk = Prākṛit, and Sk = Sanskrit.

अक्ष = *akṣ*, eye, 3 33

अक्ष, a cowrie, used as a coin, 76. 23.

¹ In view of the requirements of this text, my classification slightly differs from that proposed by Bloomfield in his paper 'Some Aspects of Jaina Sanskrit'.

- अभ्यक्षम् = *samakṣam*, in the presence of, 34 3, 53 7, 71 37.
- अनोकुह, a tree, 46 34, 75. 2, 76 166, 78. 110, 93 29, 108 66, 122 3, 149. 3.
- अन्तर्वह्नी, g *garbhavati*, pregnant, 86 6
- अन्धल, blind, 23 17
- अन्वस्, food, 8 9, 65 53
- अपघन, g *śarīra*, the body, 55 287, 65 36, 73 121
- अर्चा, an image, idol, 56 10, 374-5, 57 327
- अर्जिका, v 1 *aryikā* at times, Pk *ajjyā*, a respectable lady, a nun, 46 185, 55 227, 64 86, 67 7, 70 155, 105 101, a grand-mother, 73 98
- अर्थिका, usually *āryikā* 127 283, see *aryikā*, 46 188, 56 320, 110 5, 128 28
- अवगुण्डित, besmeared, 129 13.
- अवग्रह, a religious vow, 59 20
- अवधि, g *marana*, termination of life, death, 59 28
- अवस्था, stipulation, *anayā'vasthaya* on this condition, 27 35, 38
- अंसिका, g *dyūtakāropaveśana-sthānam*, cf Sk *amśa*, stake in betting, gambling hall or corner, 36 4, 5
- आजवज्जव, g *saṃsāra*, transmigratory circuit, 57 218, 76 212, 92 12 93 124, 111 15, see *Tiloyapaṇṇattu* II 1
- आधारण, g. *hastyāroha*, D *āhorana*, an elephant-driver, 33 65
- आपाक, Pk. *āvāya*, potter's kiln, 98 117-8
- आराटि, usually *ārati*, D *ārādī*, crying, noise, 21 8, see *ratita* 19 35
- आर्जिका, see *aryikā*, 56 308, 78 116
- इन्द्रस्थान, a place where animals are killed, 73 64
- उज्जवन, g *udyāpana*, Pk *ujjavana*, *ujjāvana*, festive conclusion of a religious or ritualistic vow or observance, 57 548, 552
- उम्बरकुष्ठ, a severe type of leprosy, 57 211, also *udumbara-kustha* at 57 308
- उषाजल, Pk *osā-jala*, Sk *avaśyā-jala*, dew-water, 157 95 and 99
- ऊरणक, a shepherd, 74 9-10, cf Pk *ūrana*, a sheep, उरणो पशुः *Trivikrama* III 4 71
- ऊर्णक, Pk *ūrana*, D *ūranī*, a he-goat 73 81-2
- एकसथ, one who grasps at a single recitation, 157 19
- ओड, a stone-digger, 104 26, cf Kannaḍa *oḍḍa*, one who works in the quarry
- कक्ष, g *vana*, a forest, 58 13, 72 46, see also *kaccha*, pasture, 56 81
- कङ्काल, poor and destitute, 146 8, cf *kamgāla* in some of our languages
- कच्चार, Sk *kaccara*, D. *kaccarā* dung, refuse, dirt, 73 108, 111
- कच्छ, a forest, a pasture for grazing cows, 56 81, cf *kaksa*
- कच्छिक, g *mālākāra*, a florist, 56 139.
- कडितल, some armour or weapon associated with the belt, 56 298, cf Sk *katitra*, Pk *kadilla*.
- कन्दोट, a lotus, 6 3, 47 6
- कपर्दिक, a cowrie used as a die in gambling, 39 3, also *kapardaka*, 40. 12.

- कर-पालिका, a sword, scimeter, 98 71 2, -*vālikā*, 123 7, -*vālī*, 66 92, 156. 40, -*vālam*, 11 47
- कर्णिकाण्ड, a barbed arrow, 32 24, cf. Sk *karnī*, Pk *kanniya-sara*
- कर्ता, a variety of cowrie used in gambling, 39 3, 40 4 f, cf D *kattā*.
- कर्बट, a settlement surrounded by mountains, 33 151, 94 15-7
- कर्षण, agriculture, attracting the people (?), 57 433
- कलाद, a goldsmith, jewelsmith, 105 265 f
- कलिल, wicked, 47 179
- कल्पपालि, read elsewhere as *kalya-*, wife of a liquor-seller, 106 145, also *kallālikā* 106 174
- कलाल, a liquor-vendor, Vintner 31 25, also 33, cf Sk *kalya-* or *kalpa-pāla*
- कलालिका, wife of a liquor-seller, 106 174, see *kallāla*
- कहणक, Sk *kathānaka*, Pk *kahānaga*, a talk, anecdote, 93 56
- कंस, Sk *kāmsya*, bell-metal, 106 142, 144 147
- कंमाल, Sk *kāmsyā-la*, *kāmsya-tāla*, a bell-metal musical instrument, 12 139
- काकुन्ती, a cry of sorrow or distress, 57 103, cf Sk *kāku*
- कास्त्रिका, sour gruel, 106 177, 157 41
- काण्डपट, a curtain, screen, 8 19, 88 59
- कार्तस्वर, gold, 102 90, 104 38
- कार्पटिक, a rogue-beggar, 65 23, cf also Sk *kāpaṭika*
- विञ्जल्प, a kind of bird whose presence wards off famine and brings about general welfare, 82 14 f.
- कीर, a parrot, 96 27, 134 47
- कीलाल, blood, 85 63, 102 82
- कुट, g *ghata*, a pot, 65 55, 76 43, cf D *kuḍa*, Kannaḍa *koda*
- कुटिका, g *kanyā*, a daughter, 30 8-9
- कुब्जिक, hump-backed, 59 85, also cf Pk *khujjya*
- कुरुविन्न, a crab, 105 65, cf Pk *kuru-villa*, also- *-cilla*
- कुक्कुट, also *kurkkuta* or *-sarpa*, besides, *kukkuta*, a cock, 73 19 f, 73 175, 78 140 f, 73 226 f
- कुसा, *kuśaka*, *kuśī* or *kuśikā*, a metal piece, 104 12, 19, 14 36 f, cf Pk *kuśī*
- कुहिणी, D *ibid*, road, 93 68
- कुकवाक, besides *krkavāku*, a cock, 73 117, 178 191
- केरा, g *sevā*, service, 11. 92.
- कोट्ट, also *kota*, a fort, 11 68, 23 6.
- कोष्ठिका, a granary, 73 136
- कमेलक, a camel, 57 432
- क्षपणक, a nude Śramaṇa or a Jaina monk, 74 39
- क्षमण, offering apology, 60 123
- क्षमापण, offering apology, 60. 131, 61. 56, cf. Pk. *khamāvaṇā*.

- क्षुल्लिका, a nun of the Ksullaka rank, 108 27-8, cf Sk *ksudra-ka*.
 क्षेमं दा, to embrace, 55 163, etc
 खटिका, g *saditā*, wasted away, dried up, 81 84
 खजक, name of a particular food, 7 75, Pk *khajjaga*
 खटिका, chalk, 57 452
 खटा, Pk *khaddā*, Sk *gartā*, a hollow, ditch, 45 19, see *khaddā*
 खडा, D *ibid*, Sk *gartā*, a hollow, ditch, 45 18, see *khatvā* and *garta* in verses 19 and 25
 खल्वाटकी, (qualifying *dālīh*), bald, husked, 24 37
 खल्लि, D *khallī*, bald head, 76 233
 खातिका, a ditch or moat, 81 42, 46
 खारी, a measure of grain, 7 76
 खुण्ट, a broken trunk of a tree or plant, a peg, 3 26
 खेट, one who moves in the air, a Vidyādhara, 7 22, etc
 गणेत्री, D *ganethiyā*, a rosary, 96 44, 70, 99 33, cf Sk *ganayitrikā*
 गण्डक-गण्डिका, a piece of sugar-cane, 93 55, cf Pk *ganda* and *gandiyā*
 गद्विकालम्बिका, 55 162, cf Pk *gaddiā*, a cart, *gaddariyā*, a goat, see Notes at the end
 गमागम, going and coming, 55 217, usually *gatāgata*
 गहिल्लक, Pk *gahilla*, one possessed by a demon, 17 10, 55 44 f, *grhullā* at 17 7, cf Sk *grahila*
 गवाशन, g *mleñcha*, *bhulla*, a man of an outcast race, 33 34, 37
 गिरिदा (?) 102*9 8
 गिलित, swallowed, 28 29, cf Sk *gṛita* also
 गुण्डिका, a scroll (?), 9 28
 गै, to speak, 10 105, etc
 गोणतक, also *gaunatraka*, v l *gonatvaka*, D *gonattaya*, a bag, sack, see also *gonikā*
 गोणिका, a bag, sack, 11 17, 79, see *gonataka*, cf Sk *gonī*
 गोणिका, D *gonī*, a cow, 57 214
 गोदण्ड, Pk *goanta*, the print of a cow's hoof, 69 29, here perhaps the mark of the wooden rod tied to cow's neck, cf Sk *gokantaka*
 ग्रामकूट, D *gāmauda*, *gāmaūda*, the village headman, 71 3, 79 7, 86 7, 135 7, 12, in a corresponding context the Kannada Vaddārādhane uses *gāvumda*, present-day Kannada *gauda*, *gaumḍa*
 ग्राह, also *āgraha*, obstinacy, 10 71, 73
 घारिका, Pk *ghāriyā*, a kind of food-preparation, 7 75, cf Sk *ghārtika*, pulse ground and fried with clarified butter
 घृत-पूर, *pūṛaka* or *pūrika*, a sweet-meat, 7 75, 24 27, 56 228
 चट्ट, D *ibid*, a pupil, 114 25-6
 चतुर्थ, Pk *cauttha*, one day's fast, when in all four meals are cancelled, 57. 224.
 चन्द्रकवेध, a kind of target (described in the text), 43 6, 57 376, 58 25.

- चमूर, a tiger, 92 8, perhaps identical with *camara*, a wild ox or yak, 93 182;
cf also Sk *camūrū*
- चाण्डकार, D *caṇḍāra*, a store-house 157 42, **caṇḍāgāra* may be postulated, cf.
krodhāgāra Rāmāyana II 10 8, 21, *hopagṛha*, anger-chamber, swearing-
room, Pārśvanātha-caritra of Bhāvadēva, 7 42
- चातुरङ्ग=*caturanga*, Pk *cāuraṅga*, 24 5, 57 414, etc.
- चिपिट, Pk *cimudha*, flat (nose etc), 106 247
- चिरचीरिका, the hem of garment 83 28
- चिलतक, P *čilāa*, Sk *kirāta*, one belonging to the Kirāta tribe, 58 26
- चीरकभक्त, 129 43
- चुल्लिका, a fire-place, 102 11
- चोरणः a thief, 33 93
- चोलिका, a cradle-like mechanism of thick garment, 131 30, cf Pk *collaya* and
jhollyā
- चोलक, a specific dish, 35 34-5
- छर्जिका, v l *chajjikā*, *chajjakā*, *vajjikā*, D *chajjyā*, a basket, 15 6, 10, 13-4, in the
corresponding context Prabhācandra reads *chatrikā*
- छिद्रा, *adj*, pierced, 11 123
- छुरिका, Pk *churigā*, Sk *ḥpurikā*, a knife, 4 24
- छेलक, a he-goat, *chelikā*, a she-goat, 71 15, 76 45 f, 93 148, 73 78-81, cf Sk
chagala, D *chela*
- जरन्त, a buffalo or *maḥṣa*, 73 83, 85, 92, 104, 93 140-1, 121 21
- जरी, or *jarin*, g *vrddha-puruṣah*, an old man, 116 9
- जल्लुका, a blood-sucking leech, 102 87
- जाप, muttering prayers, 19 5
- जाहक, a chameleon (?), 73 41-43
- जीवन, maintenance, livelihood, 102*3 4
- जोष, also *yosa*, silence, 76 29, 60, 82, 102 95
- टक्क, also *takkaka*, a niggard, perhaps a professional name like *thakka*, 63 91 f
- टक्कर, also *takkāra*, beating, 14 26, 32
- टोल्लक, also *dhollaka*, an instrument for beating, 14 32
- डम्भ, deceit, 76 26.
- डिण्डिक, also *dinduka*, a water-snake, 102*8 7, 18, cf Pk *dunduha*, Sk *dindibha*,
dunduka and *dundubha*
- डुम्भ, also *domba*, a man of low caste, 19 17, 27 16, 48.
- ढाल्लक, see *ṭollaka*
- तमीमुख, beginning of night, 47 10
- तरण्ड, a boat, 145 45
- तलवर्ग, D *talavara*, *talāra*, Sk. *talavara*, a city-guard, 56 264, 63. 147, 81 57,
see *talāra*,

- तलार-क, D *talāra*, a city-guard, 35 20, 22, 46 127, 57 174, 59 11, 63 23, etc.,
see *talavarga*
- तान्नचूल, a cock, 73 120
- तारकम्, a star, 57 381
- तुम्बक, the *tumba* gourd, 93 100
- तुषुडिका, 126 227
- तोक, g *putra*, a son, child, 50 7, 55 107, 63 152, 138 41, also *stoka*, 76 85,
145 19
- तोणीर, Pk *ibid*, a quiver, 56 297, cf Sk *tūnira*
- दरवल, D *ibid*, a village-headman, but here perhaps a palace, 98 46, 101
- ददुर, 61 52
- दारिद्र, poverty, 63 91
- दीनार, a gold coin denarius, 143 42
- दुन्दुभि, g *visa*, serpent's poison, 27 33
- देवप्रिय, dear to the gods, a term of address, 73 133, cf Pk *devānuppiya*, *devānām*
apī vallabhah, perhaps in the sense of a fool, 25 24
- देवर, a husband, a husband's brother 150 159
- देशिक, a traveller, 33 48, 40 5, 72 44, 85 44
- दोतटी, Pk *dottadī*, a dangerous river, 19 32
- दोहल, pregnancy longing, 56 153, also *dauhrda*, 106 104, more correctly *daurhrda*,
cf Pk *dohala*, Sk *dohada*
- द्रम, a drachma, 104 26, cf Sk *dramma*
- दुफण, (**durphana*), a double-hooded (serpent?), 73 48
- घाटक, driving out, 11 100
- घाटित, *nir-dhātita* etc, cf the Pk root *dhāda*, to drive out, 55 111, 56 212, 11 56,
25 26, etc
- धार, [= *dhārā*], succession, series, 155 12
- धीरिन्, so *dhīra*=*dhaīrya*, Pk *dhīra*, 52 15
- धूमरी, D *ibid*, fog, dusk, darkness, 96 65-6, cf Sk *dhūmra*
- नखा, g *mudrikā*, also *nakha*, a seal-ring, 63 32, 41
- नराधम, a *Mātanga*, 72 45
- नागिनी, Pk *nāinī*, a female cobra, 27 11, 55 266, 56 107, cf Sk *nāgī*
- नाहल, v l *nāhara*, an outcast tribe, 54 32, 56 354
- निषङ्ग, a leather bag, 73 147
- नीरसङ्ग, a mass or quantity of water, 102 130
- पञ्चकूर्च, hair growing on the five parts of the body, 96 44, 99 34
- पञ्चबिल्व, five kinds of *Bilva* used for disgracing a culprit, 11 139, 23 31, 24 38,
82 40
- पञ्चम्बर, Pk *ibid*, Sk *pañcodumbara* 66 70
- पडुक, v l *paduka*, *panduka*, *patuka*, D *paḍḍaya*, *paḍḍiā*, a calf, 121 13, 15, 17,
19 f.

पम्पा, g *trṣā*, Pk *pampā*, thirst, 5 8, 35 11, 55 31, 69 29 85 8, etc , cf Bhaga
Ārādhana, 1145, 1166, the commentaries render it by *āśā*

पट्ट=paṭa, 55 197, 108 48

• पल्लि, *pallī*, *pallikā*, a settlement of wild tribes, a village, 55 9, 33 25, 58 8, 11.

पशव, *paśavi*, D *pasaya*, a kind of animal, 73 41

पाङ्गुरण, Pk *pamgurāna*, covering, 127 216

पाण , an outcast, a Cāndāla or Domba, 19 28-9, 27 17, 74 47

पाण्डुरीक, also -*panduri*, a variety of serpents, 66 60, 62

पादोगमन, also *pādopagamana*, a kind of fasting and death, 126 236, 128 16, cf Sk
prāyopagamana, *pādapopagamana*

पारसीक, the Persian, 102 80 f

पार्श्वेलय, adjoining, lying near, 73 111

पिट्टारक, a casket, 55 284, cf Sk *piṭaka* and *piṭhara*

पिण्डार, a buffalo-herdsman, 121 48

पिप्पल=*pippala*, 63 220

पुण्डरीक, a tiger, 92 3, 102*3 7, 157 80

पुलिन्द्र=*pulinda*, 76 95, 97

पुष्कल=*puskara*, 54 56, but *puskara* at 54 35

पूत्कार=*phūtākā*, 64 68, 99 63

पूषपत्रिका, a thin wheat-bread, 7 75

पूर, a food-preparation, 7 75, 56 228

पूरिकः, also *pūra*, an article of food, 7 75, 56 228

पूषक , D *pūsa*, a parrot, 33 34, 39, 134 46

पेट, *petaka*, a multitude, a party (of dancers), 73 52, 55, 98 9

प्रजन, g *vivāha*, marriage, 65 18, 22

प्रयातना, g *pratimā*, also *pratiyātanā*, *yātanā*, an image, idol, 20 19, 78 253, 56.
16, 51, 57 329 f

प्रधि, a well, 93 92

प्राघूर्णक, a guest, 12 8, 28 33, 32 13

प्राणहिता, a shoe, 55 66, 68 41, 45, cf Pk *pānahā*, Sk *upānah*

प्राशुक=*prāsuka*, Pk *phāsuga*, free from living beings, 7 95

प्रेक्षण=*prenkhana*, a net, 9 15

फर, also *pharaku*, *pharakā*, a shield, 93 16, 18, 56 298, 123 9, cf D *phara*,
pharaa

बान्धव, a brother, 117 12

बुन्दी, D *bomdi*, body, 57 584

बोधिस्थ, D *bohuttha*, a boat, 53 4, 82 25, 93 72 f, 105. 38, see *bohuttha*

बोहिस्थ, a boat, 78 42 f, see *bodhustha*

भक्षू, to bite, 65 74, 86.

भगव=*bhagavat*, 19 11, 49, 46 117, 55 234

- भण्डक, also *bhāndaka*, a pot, 63 191, 193, 98. 20.
 भण्ड= *bhānda-sālā*, a store-house, 77 99, cf *bhaṇḍāgāra*, 105 300
 भण्डन, war, 56. 307, 309.
 भदन्त, a term of respect used in addressing a monk, 59 13, cf Pk. *bhamto*, Sk. *bhadram te*
 भल्ली, a spear, a kind of arrow, 116 19.
 भस्त्रः, a leather bag, 73 149, also *bhastrā*, *bhastrikā*, 93 159-60.
 भाक्तिकः, a devotee, 9 25
 भाण्डार, Pk *bhamdāra*, a store-house, a treasure-house, 63 30, cf *bhāṇḍāra-sālā*, 102*9 6
 भीलु-क, g *bhīru*, timid, afraid of, 57 218
 मकुट= *mukuṭa*, crown, 105 266
 मठिका, Pk *madhī*, monastery, 52 11
 मण्डका, an article of food, 7 75, 140 18
 मण्डल, a dog, 34 19, 55 297, 57 168, 58 13 f, 73 44, etc
 मत्सी, a fish, 96, 40-1
 मर्षिक= *amarṣika*, indignant, 123 5
 मषि, g *mudgadāliḥ*, *mudga* beans, 24 16, 37
 महत्तर, a chief officer, minister, 56 265, 82 35
 महत्तरिका, an elderly woman, 73 53
 महिमा, f a festivity, 63 9
 माण्डुक= *mandūka*, a frog, 147 6, also *mandūka* at 8 below
 मात्सलिका, a fish, 106 78
 मात्सिक, a fisherman, a fish, 106 37, 71 f
 माम, maternal uncle, 105 167, 169
 माहन, a Brāhmaṇa, 11 127, 55 112, 56 241, 60 37 (v l *brāhmaṇa*), cf Pk *māhana*, and *māhānaka* at 134 14
 मिण्डक, also *mendhraka*, *mendhaka*, v l *meḍhaka*, a ram, 74 9-10, 126 106, 110, 127 136, cf Sk *medhra*, Pk *mimdhaya*
 मूसल, also *muśala*, a pestle, 117 20-1
 मैथुनिक, v l *maithunaka*, brother-in-law, 12 38, 47 8, 97 25, cf Pk. *mehunaya*, *mehunya*
 यव, speed, 56 383, cf Sk *java*
 यातना, g *pratimā*, an image, idol, 56 14
 यूथ, a multitude a party (of men), 110 21
 योष, see *josa*.
 रक्ताक्ष, red-eyed, a serpent, 92 10
 रक्ष्य, Pk रच्छ, Sk रक्ष्य, that which is to be protected, 56 411
 राशि, a group, multitude, 12 67, 13 6
 राष्ट्रकूट, also *rāṣṭroda*, chief of a dominion, district, country, 126. 95, 97, 124, cf. *grāmakūta* also.

- रासक, a kind of dance, 57 103
 रिक्ष, Pk *riccha*, Sk *ṛkṣa*, a bear, 157 72 f
 रोहक or *ārohaka*, g *hastipaka*, an elephant-driver, 57 424
 लकुट, a club, 62 32, 36, 63 218, cf Pk *laida*
 लङ्क, also *lankhika*, v. l. *lanṅkhaka*, a pole-dancer, 126 42, 80. 18, 23, cf. Pk.
 lamkha, *lamkhaga*
 लड्डुकः, Pk *ladduga* a kind of sweet-meat, 21 15, 35 15, 72. 97.
 लम्पिक्षः or *lampikṣuh*, D *lanṅpikkha*, a thief, 102*2 9, 138 30, 46
 लम्बूष, D *lambūsa*, an ornamental or decorative pendant, 57 534
 लय, lying near, see *pārśva-laya* adjoining, 73 111
 लाङ्गुल=*lāngala*, 139 93
 लीहा, a line, 134 44, 45
 लोष्टु, a clod, 105 71.
 वट्ट, also *vattaka*, D *vatta*, a cup, 55 71, 116 43, 131. 7, 11
 वट्टलक, D *vattā*, an article of food, 21 13, 24
 वयंसक, Pk *vayamsa*, Sk *vayasya*, a contemporary, an associate, friend, 12 42
 वरत्रा, also *varatrikā*, a strap, rope, 80 21, 33, 93 110
 वार्तिक, a rope-dancer, 80 37, see also *varatrā*, 80 37
 वरवल्ल, 56 261, it is perhaps a wrong reading, see *daravalla*
 वर्कर, 135 9
 वर्मल, also *varmaḷya*, g *mauḷya*, price, cost, 28 33, 40 8
 वल्लकी, g *vinā*, a kind of lute, 33 53
 वल्लर, also *vallaraka*, D *ibid*, forest, thicket, 139 116-17, 120
 वसर, a tiger, 139 63
 वसुधान्तरम्, under-ground, 102 30
 वातारि, the castor-oil plant, 63 134, 137
 वारिक, selected, 55 121
 वास्य, Pk *vāsa*, Sk *varṣa* (as in *Bhārata-varṣa*), a division of earth, 6 1, etc
 वाद्याली, a ground for training horses etc, 127 52
 विक्षुर्वणा, a magical transformation 7 84
 विट्टाल, pollution, 157 37
 विट्टालित, D. *vittāḷha*, polluted, 105 134.
 विण्टण, Pk *vimtana*, Sk *veṣṭana*, a wrapper, a roll, 139 103, also see *veṃta* 139 104.
 वित्त, g *jñānavanta*, learned, celebrated 78 217
 विन्ध, Pk *ibid*, to pierce, 116. 10
 विमान, a bier, 57. 207
 विलम्बित्व delay, 14 11.
 विशिख, a passage, perhaps also a shop, 55 204, 102*9. 13
 विहाय=पिघाय, 108 9.
 वीबाह, marriage, 150. 18, 46

- वैवध, a net, 72 14, 149 4
 व्रजन, g *vivāha*, marriage, 55 229, cf *prajana* for which this may be a wrong reading
 शमिला, Pk *samlā*, Sk. *śamyā*, the pin of a yoke, 44 18
 शयु, the boa snake, 78 170
 शिबनि, a kind of tree, its wood being used in preparing a *bherī*, 120*7 3, 8.
 शिरा, a vein like channel, 56 380
 शुंशुमार, Pk *sumsumāra*, an alligator, 73 50, 60, 74 39
 शोकवर्तिनी, some article of food, 7 75, 56 228
 शौण्ड, g *kalālah*, a liquor-vendor, 31 2
 श्रवण=*śramana*, 74 36
 श्रावित, Pk *sāvia*, Sk *śāpita* (?), 28 22, 65 83, 107 13-4
 श्रोत्रिकः, Pk *sottia*, Sk *śrotriyah*, learned in the Veda, 80 2
 समावर्धोपन, birth-day (?), 57 571
 सर्जित, Pk *chajjya*, *sajjya*, Sk *sajjita*, dressed, made ready, 56 158
 सस्था, recitation, instruction, 76 6, 157 21
 साणूर, D *ibid*, a temple, but g *kūpa*, 19 51, 71 7, 98 19, 120 7, 138 13, also *sālūra* 80 71
 साण्वर, see *sānūra*, 99 6
 साधनिक, one who practises *sādhana*, 126 116
 सालनक, Pk *sālanaya*, an article of food, 19 56
 सालूर, 80 71, see *sānūra*
 सिकक, Pk *sikkaga*, Sk *śikyaka*, 4 23, 93. 99
 सुरङ्गा, a subterranean passage, 33 46
 सूत्रकण्ठ, a Brāhmaṇa, 66 5, 73 98, 93 308
 सौल. (Sk *saurah*), a distiller or seller of liquor, 106 166
 सौलिका, g *kāmvalī*, a crow, 102*6 5, 139, 53-4, 140 33-4
 स्तभ, also neuter, a goat or ram, 73 76, 76 50
 स्तोक, see *toka* above
 स्थूरीवृष्ठ, g *hastīprsthā*, 56 329, g *maḥiṣī* 57 204, horse 70 54, 69, 108 77
 हट्ट, market, 28 48, 72 89
 हठकार, force, 106 60.
 हरिद्रा, night, 26 4, 70 148
 हार, a crocodile, 73 51, 54, 57
 हीलन, the act of slighting, 127 63, 67

This grammatical discussion shows that Harisena's language fairly agrees with what we call epic Sanskrit in some details¹, namely, treatment of the feminine forms of the present participle in *atī* or *untī*, confusion between Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada, interchange of the causal and primitive bases and meanings of roots, indiscriminate formation

¹ Wackernagel *Altindische Grammatik*, pp XLIV f

of the two gerunds in *tvā* and *ya*, and irregular uses of cases. Some of the words, their genders and meanings have a close resemblance with the usages recorded from the epics. Most of the remaining traits of the language either show Prākṛitic influence or are specimens of loose handling of grammatical standard. If an author writes in Sanskrit but has some Prākṛit dialect as his mother-tongue (or the language spoken in daily routine), it is inevitable that his Sanskrit composition would show Prākṛit tendencies now and then. With regard to certain irregular forms, the future studies of similar works alone would decide whether they represent any grammatical tradition or they are author's irregularities and scribal slips in some cases.

The term *Jaina Sanskrit* has been already made current by Bloomfield¹, but the limits of its connotation should not be ignored. It is apparently used on the analogy of Buddhist Sanskrit, but there is some important reservation. 'Not the least bit like the relation of Buddhist Skt to Pāli tradition is the relation of Jaina Skt to the Āṛsa or Ardhamāgadhī of their canon (Siddhānta). Buddhist Skt is largely a Sanskritized Pāli, Jaina Skt is rooted in the main in Classical Skt literature, and, to an astonishing extent, in the lexical and grammatical traditions of Classical Skt speech'. According to the considered opinion of Bloomfield, 'The Sanskrit Lexicon of the future will have much business with Jaina Sanskrit'. Secondly, besides showing Prākṛit influence and 'occasional Hyper-Sanskritism, i.e., it changes good Skt words which have a Prākṛitic fonism into seemingly better Skt', its 'diction is not altogether proof against local dialects'. Thirdly, it must be remembered that almost all the texts, which form the basis for Bloomfield's study, come from Gujārāṭa and round about and belong to 11th and subsequent centuries. Lastly, eminent Jaina authors from the South, such as Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Vādirāja etc., have successfully handled the Sanskrit language almost in its classical purity. So whenever we use the term *Jaina Sanskrit*, we must bear its scope in mind, in fact, its traits are practically covered by epic peculiarities with the addition of Prākṛitism in its different aspects.

As noted above², there is ample circumstantial evidence to demonstrate the possibility that the stories of this Kathākośa might have been originally included in a commentary on the Bhagavati Ārādhana, secondly, Āśādhara explicitly remarks that the ten illustrative tales corresponding to Harisena's stories, Nos. 35-44, were present in the Prākṛit commentary etc., and lastly, the explanation of *krmrāga-kambala* given by Harisena and Āśādhara goes back possibly to a common Prākṛit source. These considerations make it more than probable that this Kathākośa is based on some Prākṛit commentary on the Bha. Ā. Though the conclusion is already anticipated, it is necessary here to put together various linguistic traits which confirm the possibility of the Prākṛit source for these tales and the presence of which cannot be otherwise justified.

This Kathākośa is a Sanskrit text, most of the names in these stories are a matter of author's selection, so if the author uses some un-Sanskritic names, it is reasonable to admit that the author's selection was influenced by the sources used by him³. (i) A glance at the Index shows that there are many proper names which, at times with very slight changes, are justified only in a Prākṛit text. *Ayalā*, *Usabha-dāsa*, *-dāsī*, *Kasamvalaka*,

¹ See *Some Aspects of Jaina Sanskrit* in the *Festschrift Wackernagel*, pp. 220 f.

² See pp. 38, 58, 67, etc.

³ The Sanskrit digests of the *Bṛhatkathā* do show Prākṛitisms in their language. Budhasvāmīn Sanskritises Prākṛit terms here and there (Keith *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 274). The proper name *Madanamañcukā*, I think, stands for Sk. *Madanamañjūṣā*.

Kuruvila, Gudakhedaka, Jānakasimgala, Duranda, Bambhullaganinī, Maddillapattana, Medajja, Vānārasī etc., secondly, some names show alternative forms, both of which are possible from one and the same Prākṛit form that can be easily conjectured in most of the cases Kurujangala and Kurujāngala (Pk Kurujamgala), Konikā and Kaunikā (Pk Koniyā), Ksāntikā and Kṣāndikā, Ksāntikā and Khyāntikā (Pk Khamtiyā), Khatakhata and Khaḍakhada (Pk Khaḍakhada), Dravida and Dravila (Pk Davila), Vinyātata and Venyātata (Pk Vennāyada), Sopāraka and Sopāraya, etc., some of them being found in the same story and having identical reference Candaprajñah and Candapradhyotah (Pk Candapajjoo?), Cānakya and Cānākyā (Pk Cānakka), Mundikā and Munditā (Pk Mumdiyā), Medajja and Medajña (Pk Mcajja), Vidyuddrdha and Vidyuddamstra (Pk Viyyudāḍha), Satyakī and Sātyakī (Pk Saccaī), lastly, there are some names which show unsatisfactory Sanskritisation or are hyper-sanskritic Cilāta (Pk Cilāya, Sk Kirāta), Tāma-
lipti (Pk Tāmalitti, Sk Tāmralipti), Daśānya (Pk Dasanna, Sk Daśārṇa), Dhānyakumāra (Pk Dhanna-, Sk Dhanya-), Nagnakī (Pk Naggai, Sk Nāgnyajit), Nāmavādī (Pk Nammavāi, Sk Narmavādin), Pispalāda (Pk Pippalāya, Sk Pippalāda), Bhārate vāsyē (Pk Bhārahe vāse, Sk Bhāratavāse or Bhārate varse), Yamadagni (Pk Jamadaggi, Sk Jamadagni)- Viṣṇātata (Pk Vennāyada, Sk Venātata), Varakumāra (Pk Vāra-, Sk Vajra-), etc. (ii) It is seen above¹ how the same name has been differently Sanskritised by Harisena and the Kannada Vaddārādhane. The Kannada author keeps a Prākṛit verbal form *bolaha* (Imp 2nd p pl from *vola*, to go) and in the corresponding passage Harisena uses *gaccha* (131-30) such relics do indicate a common Prākṛit source. (iii) Among the grammatical details, Samdhis like *adyameva*, alternative spellings like *padaka*, *patuka* and *padḍaka*, partiality towards vowel bases of nouns which ordinarily have consonant-endings, the pronominal forms like *me* for *mayā* and *imam* for *idam*, the causal with the augment-*āpaya*-, the meaning attached to *uttr*, the usage of Instrumental of purpose, etc. are abnormal in Classical Sanskrit, but all of them get easily and rightly explained, if we take into account the rules of Prākṛit grammar and Prākṛit usages. Though the topic requires more thorough study, I feel inclined to suggest that even the excessive use of *ka*-suffix may get partly explained in the light of Prākṛit tendency seen in such cases as *aham*, which, with the *ka*-suffix, presents itself under various garbs in Prākṛit *ahaam*, *ahayam*, *hage*, *hake*, *ahake*, *hakam* *haū*. All these have led to a postulate like, **ahakah*, besides the well-known *ahakam*. This *ka*-suffix does play a conspicuous part in Prākṛits². (iv) Turning to the vocabulary, back-formations may be found in works which are not necessarily based on a Prākṛit original. The abnormal use of Prākṛitisms, with or without minor changes, seen from the list of words studied above, deserves our special attention. Not only that, but looking at words like *arjikā*, *karapālikā*, *khaddā*, *gahillaka*, *gonattaka*, *charjikā*, *joṣa*, *talavarga*, *paddika*, *pādogamana*, *puskala*, *bodhstha*, *mudhaka*, *rāstrakūṭa* etc., we actually get also the evidence to the effect that the author is easily trying to Sanskritise certain Prākṛit words, and the results of his attempts in different contexts have been varied. For the present, it is futile to question the evidence supplied by all the three Mss, almost unanimously. (v) Lastly, words like *uṣāgala*, *bhīluka*, *rathya*, *viḥāya*, *śrāvitaḥ*, *saula* etc., become meaningless in those contexts unless they are interpreted in the light of their Prākṛit counterparts which might have been there before the author.

All the facts, noted above, cannot be explained merely by saying that the author was well-versed in Prākṛits or the copyists are responsible for Prākṛitisms. We should not

¹ See p. 67

² Pischel, Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen, sections 142, 194, 417, 426 and 598

take these facts and items individually and try to explain them away, but look at the cumulative value of the entire mass of evidence in its proper perspective. Thus the Prākṛit elements, so explicit and frequent in the language of these stories, and the linguistic evidence available from the comparative study of Harisena's Kathākośa and the Kannaḍa Vaḍḍārādhane almost definitely prove the possibility of a Prākṛit original for Harisena's work, and further, the valuable remark of Āsādhara indicating that some similar stories were present in the Prākṛit commentary etc., makes it highly probable that the stories of Harisena might have been based on a Prākṛit commentary on the Bhagavati Ārādhana of Śivārya.

(vii) Orientalists on the Jaina Narrative Literature

We have studied the different aspects of this Kathākośa of Harisena which occupies an important place in Jaina narrative literature, the various currents of which are casually reviewed above. The orientalists began the study of Jaina literature rather late, still many eminent scholars have worked on important narrative texts that have afforded new material to enrich different branches of Indological study. Some have already emphasised its study in understanding Indian life and literature, as well as the salient traits of Indian culture. Some of their remarks are valuable not only as an estimate of Jaina narrative literature but also as constructive suggestions for the guidance of future workers in the field. Critical studies in different branches of Jaina literature are still in their infancy, though the richness of the field was already anticipated by Buhler in his significant remark made years ago¹. The Jaina writers 'have accomplished so much of importance, in grammar, in astronomy, as well as in some branches of letters, that they have won respect even from their enemies, and some of their works are still of importance to European science. In southern India, where they worked among the Dravidian tribes, they also advanced the development of these languages. The Kanarese literary language and the Tamil and Telugu rest on the foundations laid by the Jaina monks. This activity led them, indeed, far from their proper goal, but it created for them an important position in the history of literature and culture'. If the workers follow critical and comparative lines of study, the results of their research will enviably enrich the fields of Indological study. With respect to Jaina narrative literature, Winternitz remarks² 'Like the Buddhist monks, the Jaina monks, too, delighted at all times in adorning their sermons with the telling of stories, in converting worldly stories into legends of saints, in elucidating Jinistic doctrines by means of 'examples', thus exploiting the inborn Indian love for fables in order to win over and retain as many adherents as possible for their religion'. 'As in the case with the Buddhist Jātakas, this narrative literature imbedded in the Commentaries, contains many popular themes, including some which occur also in other Indian and non-Indian literatures, and form part of the common treasury of universal literature'. We have already studied his views on ascetic poetry which, he further adds³, 'likes to take its subjects from popular tales, fairy stories, fables and parables. Now the Jainas have always had a special liking for any kind of popular poetry, especially folk-tales. Jaina literature, both canonical and still more non-canonical, is a very store-house of popular stories, fairy tales and all kinds of narrative poetry'. About the extent and the reality of tone, he says 'The mass of

¹ On the Indian Sect of the Jainas, London 1903, p. 22

² A History of Indian Literature, vol. II, pp. 484, 545 etc.

³ Indian Culture, vol. I, 2, p. 147

narratives and books of narratives among the Jainas is indeed vast. They are of great importance not only to the student of comparative fairy-tale lore, but also because, to a greater degree than other branches of literature, they allow us to catch a glimpse of the real life of the common people. Just as in the language of these narrative works there are frequent points of agreement with vernaculars of the people, their subject-matter, too, gives a picture of the real life of the most varied classes of the people, not only the kings and priests, in a way which no other Indian literary works, especially the Brahman ones, do.

Dr Hertel¹, whose studies on the Pañcatantra are quite well-known, has worked on a number of medieval Jaina narrative texts. In his opinion, 'the narrative literature of the Jainas is connected with several problems' the chief of which are first, 'the problem of the migration of stories' which 'belongs to the domain of literary history and of history of civilization. Its solution is of equal importance for India and for the rest of the world', and the second, 'purely linguistic' one, whose solution 'cannot but produce results which will prove to be of fundamental importance not only for the history of Sanskrit and other Indian languages, but for the history of Indian literature as well'. He has sufficiently elaborated both these problems, and some of his remarks on the study of the linguistic aspect of these texts are highly critical and thought-provoking. He has in view especially the narrative works in Sanskrit written by Śvetāmbara authors of medieval and post-medieval Gujarat, but on the whole, his remarks are equally applicable to other Jaina narrative works and deserve careful study. It is already noted above how the Karman doctrine forms the back-bone of many of the tales, and with reference to that Hertel remarks 'Nobody will deny the wholesome influence which the doctrine of *karman* must necessarily exercise on the faithful members of the Jain community with regard to their behaviour, not only towards their fellow-men, but towards all their fellow creatures. Animal life is as sacred to a Jain as human life'. He fully brings out some of the salient traits of the Jaina didactic narrative texts in his following observations:

'In these books (i.e., Aupadeśika texts) as well as in the commentaries on the Siddhānta, the Jains possess an extremely valuable narrative literature which includes stories of every kind: romances, novels, parables and beast fables, legends, and fairy tales, and funny stories of every description. The Śvetāmbar monks used these stories as the most effective means of spreading their doctrines amongst their countrymen, and developed a real art of narration in all the above mentioned languages (namely, Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, Hindī, Gujarātī, and Rājasthānī dialects), in prose and verse, in *kāvya* as well as in the plainest style of everyday life. Beside single stories, they have compositions, in which a great many tales are embedded in frame-stories, as in the Pañchatantra, and collections of single stories resembling the collection of the Household Tales of the brothers Grimm.

'At the beginning of his homily, a preaching Jain monk usually gives, in a few prose words or verses, the topic of his sermon (Dharmadeśanā), and then goes on to tell an interesting tale of more or less considerable extent, with many romantic incidents, and in most cases with several intercalated stories. Towards the end of his story, he introduces a *kevalin*, i.e., an omniscient Jain monk, who comes to a grove belonging to the town in which the persons of his story are dwelling at its end. After hearing the sermon of this monk, these persons ask him, why all the vicissitudes, which they had to pass through

¹ On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat. Leipzig 1922, pp. 11 f., 3, 6 f.

during their adventures, fell to their lot. The Kevalin, then, explains to them all the happy as well as the unhappy incidents by relating the story of their previous existence.

'The literary form of these Jain sermons resembles that of the Buddhist Jātaka, but it is highly superior to it. A Jātaka begins with a story which, in most cases, is quite insignificant. Such and such a thing has occurred to such and such a monk. The Buddha arrives. The other monks question him about the present case, and the Buddha explains it by narrating the story of the respective monk's previous existence. This story of the past is the main story of the Jātaka (whereas in the Jain sermons it forms only the conclusion), the Bodhisatta, or future Buddha, himself plays a rôle in it, and this rôle, of course, must be worthy of him, the whole story, moreover, must be an edifying one. The Jātakas, as far as they are interesting, are no inventions of the Bauddhas, they are taken from the huge store of tales spread all over India. Most of these popular tales are ingenious, or funny, or interesting in some other respect, but they are not edifying. Hence the Bauddha monks, whose Jātakas *must* be edifying and *must* contain a rôle worthy of the Bodhisatta, are forced to alter the popular stories they use for these purposes, and the lamentable consequence generally is that such a Jātaka becomes a rather dull story, from which all the wit of its original has disappeared, and its development is often contrary to all psychological probability. The Bauddhas impart their doctrines directly, showing, by the Bodhisatta's example, how a creature should act in accordance with the Bauddha notions of morals, and if the popular story chosen for being transformed into a Jātaka does not contain such a moral action, this story must be altered accordingly. To a Bauddha, the study of arthaśāstra, or political science, is a sin. Now many of the best Indian stories have been developed in this śāstra. The Bauddha monks take over into their collections of stories a great many of such *nīti*-tales, but in accordance with their principle, they are compelled to alter the very points, and consequently even the most essential features, of these stories, and by doing so, they inevitably must destroy the stories themselves' ¹. It is not a mere chance that amongst the innumerable recensions of the Pañchatantra there is not even one of Bauddha origin, whereas the Jaina recensions, called Pañchākhyāna, or Pañchākhyānaka, made this old *nīti*-work popular all over India, including Indo-China and Indonesia. The Pañchākhyāna, in Sanskrit and in different vernaculars, became indeed so popular a book in all these countries, that its Jain origin was completely forgotten, even by the Jains themselves.

'The Bauddha story-tellers, moreover, turn to their advantage the rage of the populace for the miraculous, the horrid, and the atrocious, they repeat, over and over again, the same motives in the same stories, and they have no idea of psychological motivation and causation. Their stories are characteristic Buddhist, but by no means characteristic Indian stories.

'Characteristic of Indian narrative art are the narratives of the Jains. They describe the life and the manners of the Indian population in all its different classes, and in full accordance with reality. Hence Jain narrative literature is, amongst the huge mass of Indian literature, the most precious source not only of folk-lore in the most comprehensive sense of the word, but also of the history of Indian civilisation.

'The Jains' way of telling their tales differs from that of the Bauddhas in some very essential points. Their main story is not that of the past, but that of the present, they do

¹ See the author's papers 'Die Erzählliteratur der Jaina' (Geist des Ostens I, 178 ff.) and 'Ein altindisches Narrenbuch' (Ber. d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, ph.-h. Kl. 64 (1912), Heft 1).

not teach their doctrines directly, but indirectly, and there is no future Jina to be provided with a rôle in their stories

'It is evident that under these circumstances the Jain narrators are at complete liberty. As they cannot possibly have the intention to make the persons of their stories act in accordance with morality, they are free to relate the old stories, as these stories have been handed down to them by literary or by popular tradition. Whether the actions of the persons of their stories are moral or immoral, whether these persons become happy or unhappy, this is no concern of the story-teller. For the moral teaching imparted by the story does not lie in the events themselves as they are related in the tale, but in the explanation which the Kevalin gives at the end of this story. This Kevalin shows that all the misfortunes undergone by the persons which act a part in his narration, have been caused by bad deeds, and that all their good luck has been caused by good actions, done by them in their previous existences. It is clear that this manner of teaching morals is applicable to any story whatsoever, as in every interesting story the creatures whose adventures are related in it, must needs undergo various vicissitudes. The consequence of this fact is that no story-telling Jain monk is obliged to alter any story handed down to him, and that from this reason, Jain stories are much more reliable sources of folk-lore than the stories handed down in the books of the Bauddhas.

'Jain monks, however, were not only reproductive, they were really productive of stories. They invented new stories and novels for the sake of their propaganda books, and literary story-telling was taught in their schools'. It is necessary, therefore, that the various Jaina narrative texts in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhramśa and the post-Apabhramśa stages of our modern Indo-Āryan languages should be critically edited and studied with a view to enrich our knowledge of Indian life, literature and languages'

7 HARISENA, THE AUTHOR HIS PLACE AND DATE

In the annals of Indian literature, we come across a few authors bearing the name Harisena. (i) Harisena, the stylistic panegyrist of Samudragupta¹ and the composer of the Allahabad pillar inscription of c. A.D. 345. (ii) Harisena, the author of Apabhramśa Dharmaparikṣā,² gives the following details about himself. In the territory of Mevāda, there was one Hari, expert in various arts, in the Dhakkada-kula of Sirī-ujaura (v. 1 Sirī-ujapura). He had a pious son Govaddhana (Sk. Govardhana) by name. Gunavati was his wife, and she was devoted to the feet of Jina. They had a son Harisena who became famous as a learned poet. He left Cittauḍu (Sk. Citrakūṭa) and came to Acalapura on some business (*mya-kaffe*). There he studied metrics and rhetorics, and narrated or composed this Dharmaparikṣā when 1044 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed. He says that the Dharmaparikṣā was formerly composed by Jayarāma in gāthā metre and the same he is narrating in Paddhadiyā metre. Harisena's work is older by 26 years than the Sanskrit Dharmaparikṣā of Amitagatī. (iii) Harisena or Hari, the author of the Karpūraprakara or Sūktāvalī which has been already introduced above (p. 43). He tells us that he wrote Nemīcaritra also, and his teacher was Vajrasena, the author of Trisastuśāra-prabandha. His date is not definitely settled. If this Vajrasena is identical with the author of an

¹ Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 77 f.

² This was lately discovered by me, I read a paper on it at the Hyderabad Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, and it is now published in the Silver Jubilee Number of the Annals of the B O R I, Poona.

incomplete *Triṣastīśālākā-purusacaritra* in Sanskrit prose¹, then we will have to put him later than Hemacandra, and in that case, Hari is sufficiently later than 12th century A D. All that is definite about his date is that he is earlier than Samvat 1504 (-57=1447 A D.), when Somacandra wrote his *Kathā-mahodadhī*² giving illustrative stories on the *Sūktāvalī*. (iv) Harisena, or Pandita Hariseṇa, according to the Poona Ms (No 266 a of A 1882-83, Bhandarkar O R I) composed *Jagatsundarī-yogamālādhikāra* on the basis of various medical treatises when the *Yoniprābhṛta* was not accessible to him. The problems about his personality and date and relation of his composition with that of *Yaśahkīrti*³ can be solved only after some more material becomes available to enable us to study the mutilated Ms at Poona. The Ms was written in Samvat 1582 (-57=1525 A D) which is the later limit for the age of this Hariseṇa. (v) Hariseṇa, who had written some *Yaśodharacarita*,⁴ is mentioned along with *Prabhañjana* (who appears to be referred to by *Uddyotanasūri* in his *Kuvalayamālā*, A D 778) by *Vāsavasena* in his *Yaśodharacarita* which was used by *Gandharva* in supplementing *Puṣpadanta's* *Jasaharacariu* in Samvat 1365 (-57=1308 A D). *Somakīrti* also refers to him in his *Yaśodharacarita* (Sam 1535). (vi) Harisena, the author of *Astāhnikakathā* of which we have a Ms (No 469 of 1884-86) in the Bhandarkar O R I, Poona. He belonged to *Mūlasangha*, and he gives his spiritual ancestry thus *Ratnakīrti*, *Devakīrti*, *Śīlabhūṣana*, *Guṇacandra* and *Hariseṇa* (the author himself). From its appearance, the Ms may be about two hundred years old.⁵

Our Harisena, the author of *Brhat-kathākośa*, is different from all the above Harisenas that I have been able to list. It is not unlikely, however, that Harisena (No v), referred to by *Vāsavasena* and *Somakīrti*, might be identical with our author who gives an exhaustive story about *Yaśodhara* (No 73) in this *Kośa*, but we have no sufficient evidence to establish this identity. The *Prasasti* gives Harisena's spiritual ancestry thus: There was that *Mauṇibhāṭṭāraka*, the full moon in the firmament of the *Punnāta-sangha*, who enlightened the pious people by the flash of his scriptural knowledge, he stayed at *Vardhamānapura* which was crowded with Jaina temples, white palaces and wealthy populace. His pupil was that revered *Śrīhariseṇa* who possessed various virtues and practised different penances. His disciple was that pious *Bharatasena* who was a poet well-versed in different branches of learning, metrics, rhetorics, poetics, dramaturgy, grammar and logic, and who was attended upon by the learned. Of this famous *Bharatasena*, there was the disciple *Harisena* (the author himself) who does not claim to possess any (expert) knowledge of grammar, metrics and logic⁶, and it is he that composed this *Kathākośa* (which is called *ārādhanaodhṛta*). It was finished in 989 according to *Vikramāditya-kāla*, or in 853 according to *Śaka-kāla*, in the twentyfourth year *Khara* by name, during the reign of *Vinayādikapāla*. This is just a running summary of the facts given by our author in the *Prasasti*, and it is

¹ Jesalmere Catalogue, p 53

² Its contents and date are noted above, pp 43-4

³ See the details discussed by Pts. *Jugalkishore*, *Dipachand Pandya* and *Premi* in the *Anekānta*, vol II, pp 485f, 611f, 666f, 685f

⁴ *Hiralal Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka*, II, 3, p 146, P L Vaidya *Jasaharacariu*, Intro pp 17, 24-5, *Premi Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, p 539

⁵ Mr Modi reads the name of *Śrī-Hariseṇa* in a passage from the *Apabhramśa Harivamśa* of *Svayambhū* (*Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Hindi, vol I, 2, pp 167, 175), but Prof *Hiralal* reads differently and gives the name of *Śrī-Harṣa* (*Nagpur University Journal*, No 1, December 1935). So Mr Modi's reference cannot be used, for the present, to enumerate one more *Hariseṇa* or to identify him with *Śrī-Hariseṇa*, mentioned in the *Prasasti* of this *Kathākośa*.

⁶ That is his modesty

necessary to scrutinise them critically and understand them in relation to other well-known facts

Punnāta-visaya or the territory of Punnāta, according to Harisena himself, is to be located in the Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India (Nos 131 40, 135 1), and from earlier discussions¹ it is clear that it is to be identified with one of the ancient kingdoms of Karnāṭaka, through which flowed Kāverī and Kapinī, the capital of which was Kirtipura or the present Kittur on the Kapinī, and which lay to the south of the present Mysore state including the Heggaddivanakote and other Tālukas in it. The Punnāta-saṃgha must have derived its name from this territory. It is really significant that, so far as I know, there has come to light no inscription in the South which mentions this Saṃgha. In all probability, an ascetic group that hailed from Punnāta and settled down at Vardhamānapura and round about became famous as Punnāta-saṃgha there. In the south, originally it was perhaps known as Kittūra-saṃgha, a name derived from the capital of Punnāta country, which is mentioned in one of the Śravana Belgola inscriptions² of c. Śaka 622. Besides our Harisena, the only author that mentions Brhat- or simply Punnāta-saṃgha or -gana is Jinasena who finished his *Harivamśa*³ at the same Vardhamāna-nagara in A.D. 783, just 148 years earlier than this *Kathākośa*. We do not know much about this Saṃgha⁴, but the facts given by Jinasena and Harisena show that it had a sound tradition of spiritual ancestry,⁵ and it was already established at Vardhamānapura and round about by the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

A few facts, which go to indicate the possibility of Punnātasamgha hailing from the South, may be noted here. Jainism was a powerful religion of Karnāṭaka and round about especially in the second half of the first millennium of the Christian era, and it enjoyed a good deal of royal patronage under different dynasties⁶. Some of the Karnāṭaka kings like Pulikeśin II (A.D. 608 onwards) of the Western Chālukya dynasty conquered the Lātas, the Gurjaras of Broach etc., and a collateral branch of the Chālukyas was founded in Gujarāṭa. The Jaina poet Ravikīrti (A.D. 634) enjoyed the favour of Pulikeśin II. Vikramāditya II invaded Cutch, Sorath and Broach. Some of the kings of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty had close contacts with Gujarāṭa. At the time of Kakkarāja II a separate Rāstrakūṭa principality was established in Gujarāṭa, and Amoghavarṣa I, whose partiality towards Jainism is well-known⁷, was styled as Gurjara-narendra⁸. This successful political domination of Karnāṭaka dynasties, which patronised Jainism, over Gujarāṭa and adjoining territory presents quite favourable circumstances for the migration of a Jaina Saṃgha from

¹ Rice. Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions pp. 2f, R. Narasimhacharya F.C. II pp. 37, 73, B.A. Saletore. The Ancient Kingdom of Punnāta, Indian Culture, vol. III, 2, pp. 303-17. M.G. Pai. Rulers of Punnāta, Festschrift Prof. P.V. Kane, Poona 1941, pp. 308-26.

² Epigraphia Carnatica II, No. 81.

³ Published in the *Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā*, vols. 31 and 33.

⁴ Pt. Premijī's views about the relation of Punnātasamgha with Drāviḍa and Nandisaṃgha are mere conjectures. See also his *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, pp. 420-33.

⁵ Amṛtasena, the grand-teacher of Jinasena, is called *paṇḍita-punnāta-gaṇāgrāṇī gani*. The phrase *yyutsrṣṭ āpara-saṃgha-samtati* perhaps implies its isolation from its co-related groups.

⁶ Smith. The Early History of India pp. 423f, Banerji. Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India pp. 20f, Saletore. Mediaeval Jainism chap. 2 etc., Sharma. Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture, chap. 1.

⁷ Prof. Hiralalaji has lately shown, in an important paper, that the statement of Praśnottara-ratnamālā, that Amoghavarṣa accepted renunciation is further confirmed by the opening verses of *Gaṇitasārasaṃgrahā* of Mahāvīrācārya, see *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, vol. IX, part 1, pp. 1-8.

⁸ I have in view the unpublished *Praśasti* of Jayadhavalā which I have copied from the Sholapur Ms.

Karnāṭaka to Gujarāṭa Secondly, the name of Nannarāja, whose Vasatī is referred to by Jināsena, is quite South Indian in pronunciation; and we know that this name was usual in the South, for instance, the patron of Puspādanta at Mānyakheta was Nanna It would be a quite probable conjecture that this Nanna might have been a Jaina chieftain from the South who had settled down at Vardhamānapura and built a temple of Pārśvanātha Lastly, this Kathākośa refers to many South Indian territories and towns, and Harisena is the first author, so far as we know, to describe the Tera caves all this indicates the contact of the Punnāta-saṃgha with the topography and the holy relics of Karnāṭaka and round about Thus there was every possibility of a Jaina Saṃgha migrating to Gujarāṭa and Kathiawar.

Maunī Bhaṭṭāraka is referred to in some records¹, but beyond the name there are no positive facts to propose his identity with the one who was staying at Vardhamānapura as mentioned in the Praśasti Harisena's adjective *kārtasvarāpūrṇa-janādhivāse* reminds us of Jināsena's description *kalyāṇaḥ parivardhamāna-vipula-śrī-Vardhamāne pure*, and I feel no doubt that both of them are referring to the same town Presumably from the names Punnāta-saṃgha and Nannarāja, Pt Premijī once thought that this town must have been situated in the South² There are at least three modern localities which can be proposed for identification with Vardhamānapura (i) The Citracampū was composed by Citrasena³ of Burdwan (Vardhamānapura) in Bengal about A D 1744 (ii) There is a reference to Vardhamānanagari in the Anumkonda inscription⁴ of Kākatiya Rudradeva, dated Śaka 1084, which gives a graphic description of a certain Bhīma and of Rudradeva's expedition against him It states that Rudradeva advanced 'three or four steps' from his camp and took the city of Vardhamānanagari which from the context appears to have been not far away from Anumkonda in the Nizam's dominions The village is known now under the name Vadhman⁵ (iii) The medieval name for Wadhwan in Kathiawar was Vardhamānapura where Merutunga finished his Prabandhacintāmanī in the year 1361 of the Vikrama era⁶ Thus we have to see whether our Vardhamānapura was located in Bengal, Deccan or Kathiawar

The validity of identification depends upon the fulfilment of certain conditions already mentioned by Jināsena and Harisena Jināsena wrote his Harivamśa at Vardhamānapura when Indrāyudha was ruling in the North, Śrīvallabha, the son of Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa, in the South, Vatsarāja, the king of Avantī, in the East, and in the West, Vīra Jayavarāha over the Sauramaṇḍala⁷ Harisena, just 148 years later, associates one Vinayādīkapāla with Vardhamānapura These conditions are not fulfilled, so far as the available material is concerned, by locating that town in Bengal or Deccan, but by accepting its identity with Wadhwan with reference to which the directions are to be understood, all the facts can

¹ See Maunideva E C VIII, Nagar No 35, Maunīyācāriya E C II, 106, Maunīguru E C II, 8, 20, Monī Bhaṭṭāraka E C V, Belur 123, also Mediaeval Jainism p 201

² Jaina Hitaishī, Vol, XIV 7-8, pp 216-12, but he has lately corrected his view, see Jaina Sāhitya aurā Itihāsa, p 424, pp 428, 434 f

³ I owe this reference to my friend Mr P K Gode, Poona

⁴ Indian Antiquary, Vol XI, p 9 ff

⁵ I owe this reference to my friend Mr R S Panchamukhi, Dharwar,

⁶ Peterson's Reports IV, p xcvi

⁷ That is how Pt Premijī and myself understand the verse, and I think, it is a consistent interpretation Some have differently interpreted it Bhandarkar The Early History of the Deccan, Collected Works, III, pp 89-90, Jinaviṇyayaḥ Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka, III, 2 p 188, Hiralalajī Ibidem, II, 3, p 147, Banerjī Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India, p 213

be satisfactorily explained¹ Indrāyudha is identified with Indrarāja of Kanauja whose territory appears to have extended sufficiently westwards, Śrīvallabha with Govinda II, the son of Kṛṣṇa I, of the Rāstrakūṭa dynasty in the South, Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti, with the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of that name, and Vira Jayavarāha might have been some king ruling over Sauramandala or Saurāstra about whom we do not know anything from other sources² These directions and ruling kings are suitable only for Wadhwan with which alone, as we see below, can be associated a king Vināyādikapāla mentioned by Harisena So this Kathākośa was composed near about Wadhwan in Kathiawar It is presumed, of course, that Harisena should be associated with the same locality with which one of his predecessors was connected I have not been able to get any additional information about Śrīharisena and Bharatasena

As to the year of composition, the author is quite explicit he wrote this Kośa in Vikrama Sam 989 or Śaka 853, the year being Khara which is twentyfourth in enumeration Referring to Pillai's Ephemeris³, I find that Khara would be twenty fourth according to the Northern cycle, but twentyfifth according to the Southern cycle where Śukla is additional after Vibhava, the second year So Harisena, living near about Wadhwan, is calculating according to the Northern cycle It appears that the book was finished sometime between 15th October 931 to 13th March 932 A D ⁴

As the reading stands, the name of the contemporary king would be Vināyakapāla or even Vinayapāla, if we induce ourselves to suppose that the usual *k*-suffix is added to *ādī* We have to see whether there is available any such name of a ruling prince round about our Vardhamānapura and about A D 931-32 There is some difference of opinion about the relation between Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty⁵, but this much is certain that Vināyakapāla was in possession of the capital Kanauj A D 931 We have a grant of his issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj) dated Samvat 988, only one year earlier than the composition of the Kathākośa Then there are the Haddala copper-plates, dated Śaka 836, of the Cāpa-mahāsāmantādhipati, Dharanī-Varāha, a feudatory of the Rājādhirāja Mahipāladeva, issued from Vardhamāna Pratihāra empire was a big one extending from the Kathiawar to the borders of Bihar, and the 'Government was more or less feudal in nature, and its rapid dissolution was due to the 'centrifugal tendency' which is still observable among the Rajputs' The above records make it clear that the Vardhamānapura was included in the Pratihāra empire a few years early and there was the king Vināyakapāla in A D 931 I feel convinced that Harisena is referring to Vināyakapāla, the suzerain king, and not to any local chief of Vardhamānapura, and this is perhaps implied by the adjective *Śakropamānake* There is, however, one difficulty which needs some

¹ Ray The Dynastic History of Northern India, vol I, pp 279, 285, 287 etc

² A feudatory of the name Dharanivarāha is mentioned in a record of A D 914 and associated with Vardhamānapura, as noted below It is quite likely that Jayavarāha was a predecessor of the same branch

³ An Indian Ephemeris, vol II, pp 264-66

⁴ The contemporary Rāstrakūṭa king in the South was Govinda IV (A D 918-33)

⁵ D R Bhandarkar A list of Inscriptions of Northern India, Epigraphia Indica, vols XIX to XXIII, No 53 of Samvat 988, No 61 of Samvat 1003, No 68 of Samvat 1011, No 1086 of Śaka 836 (Haddālā copper-plates), see also his paper 'Gurjaras', Bombay Branch R A S XXI, pp 414f, Barnett Antiquities of India pp 62, 67, Ray The Dynastic History of Northern India, pp 571-582 where all the details are worked out and the basic records are fully summarised, Banerji Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India, pp 234, 236, H C Ray Chaudhari On the Emperor Mahipāla of the Pratihāra Dynasty, Indian Culture, VII, 2

explanation The text would give the name Vinayapāla or Vinayakapāla, while the king's name is Vināyakapāla. It is true that our author is in the habit of using *k*-suffix, but here, I think, in all probability the original reading might have been *Vināyādīkapālasya* (apparently meaningless, if one is not aware of the name of the king) which gives us the name Vināyakapāla. It is quite likely that Vināyādī- was easily corrected into Vinayādī- by some copyist who could not make out anything from Vināyādī- and who thought that his was a meaningful improvement of *vināya* into *vinaya*. Our author is in the habit of such division of words by inserting *ādī* etc, as I have shown above, in phrases like *paryādvīrājā*.

Unfortunately no other work of Harisena has come to light, so there is no possibility, for the present, of supplementing and checking the above information. To conclude, Harisena belonged to Punnātasamgha, he composed his Kathākośa near about Wadhawan in Kathiawar, it was finished in Śaka 853, Samvat 989 or A.D. 931-32 during the Khara Samvatsara, and the contemporary sovereign king was Vināyakapāla of the Gujrara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj.

THE DHŪRTĀKHYĀNA: A CRITICAL STUDY*

1 The Prakrit Text

The Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadrāsūri, whose career is to be assigned to the middle of 8th century A D,¹ is a typical literary work that has a special significance in Indian literature. It had already attracted the attention of E. Leumann some forty years back; and it is through him that N. Mironow could refer to some parallel stories in his dissertation² on the Dharmaparīkṣā of Amitagatī. Some Gujarātī and Hindī renderings of Dhū have appeared in India, but they were primarily concerned with the contents and not with the Prākṛit text of that work.

This unique work, in Prākṛit, is now brought out for the first time in this Singhi Jain Series having been critically edited by Ācārya Śrī Jinavijayajī. Its Sanskrit version by Sanghatilaka and an Old-Gujarātī prose rendering by an unknown writer have also been included in this edition to facilitate its comparative study.

The Prākṛit text, presented here, is based on three MSS, A, B, and C³. They do not bear any dates, but A and B, as described by the learned editor in his Preface, look quite old, and they may be assigned to 16th century A D. C is quite modern and just a copy of A prepared by an inexperienced scribe, consequently the readings of C are not noted. A and B are sufficiently independent and do show some variants noted in the foot-notes. Confusion in numbering the verses is seen in both. B looks not only older but is also more accurate than A. The MS. A shows necessarily *y-śrutī* for the *udvṛtta* vowel (as I surmise, irrespective of the preceding vowel), while B very often puts *a* (or *ā*) for the lost consonant; this possibly means that B is following the more strict rule about *y-śrutī* specified by Hemacandra in his Commentary⁴, and its so-called accuracy perhaps betrays the hand of some revisionist or copyist possessing a thorough mastery over Hemacandra's Prākṛit grammar.

These two MSS, A and B, do not show any recensions as such. If B omits a verse (V 26) and A repeats some line (V 47), this is due just to scribal lapse. The concluding verse (V 125) cannot belong to Haribhadra. His composition ends with V 124 which mentions *bhava-viraha*, Haribhadra's distinguishing mark, and the contents of the following verse do betray that it is composed by some zealous follower of Haribhadra. Certain portions of the Prākṛit text are not specifically covered by the Sanskrit (III 83b, 84, V 115-18) and Gujarātī versions (III 83-84, V 111) which closely follow it, but looking to the context etc., this cannot be a conclusive proof to suspect those portions as later additions in Haribhadra's text.

* This is the Introduction of the Dhūrtākhyāna, in Prākṛit, by Haribhadra. It was published in the Singhi Jain Series, No. 19, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay 1944.

¹ Jinavijayajī, Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka, vol. I, 1, pp. 21-58, Jacobi, Samarāṅgacakāḥ, B. I, No. 169, Calcutta 1926, Intro.

² Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagatī, Leipzig 1903.

³ For their description, see elsewhere.

⁴ See Siddha-Hemacandra, VIII 1 180.

At the kind request of Ācārya Śrī Jinavijaya, I have attempted below a study of this important literary work. Before subjecting its different aspects to a critical scrutiny, it would be proper to give a short outline of the stories occurring in this work.

2. Summary of the Contents

I

Adjacent to the prosperous town of Ujjainī, there was a fine park of luxuriant vegetation with a garden-house. During their wanderings there arrived hundreds of confirmed rogues who had acquired specific proficiency in the tricks of their trade. They had five leaders: Mūlaśrī, Kandarika, Elāsādhā, Śaśa and Khandapānā¹. Every one of the first four had five hundred male cheats and Khandapānā had an equal number of female cheats as their retinue. Mūlaśrī was their foremost chief. During the height of rainy season when it was heavily pouring all over the week and when it was not possible to move about all the rogues, shivering and hungry, began to deliberate as to who would give them a feast for the day. Mūladeva² stipulated thus: 'Every one should address the chamber of cheats about what one had heard or experienced, and he who proves it to be an incredible lie should give food and drink to the gathering of rogues. But he who confirms the same by quoting parallels from various scriptures like the Purāṇa, Bhārata and Rāmāyana and convinces the audience, is not to give anything, and he would be made the lord of rogues.' They all agreed to this and requested Mūladeva to narrate his experience (I 1-16).

Mūladeva said: 'I shall tell you what I experienced as a youth. Yearning for prosperity, I went to the abode of Īśvara to receive the stream of Gangā on my head. As I was travelling with a gourd-kettle and umbrella in hand, a mad wild-elephant rushed at me like a moving mountain. I trembled with fear, I saw no shelter and escape, so I leapt into the gourd-kettle that my life might be saved. The elephant was infuriated and followed me into the gourd-kettle where I deceived it by hide-and-seek for a period of six months. At last I escaped through the spout of the gourd-kettle, but when the elephant also followed me, its tail-hair was caught in the spout-hole. I approached, however, the ocean-like river Gangā, crossed the rushing stream, and reached the abode of Īśvara. Standing hungry and thirst, I received the stream of Gangā on my head for six months. Thence I came to Ujjainī and met you all here. If you accept all this as true, confirm it by evidence, if you think this to be a lie, well, give us a feast.' Kandarika observed that one who has read Bhārata, Purāṇas and Rāmāyana would not call this a lie (I 17-34).

Kandarika continued: 'What we hear in the Bhārata and Purāṇa is reliable, therefore your experience also is true. (1) It is said that the Vipras are born from the mouth, the Kṣatriyas from the arms, Vaiśyas from the thighs and Śūdras from the feet of Brahman; that means the entire population could be accommodated in Brahman's body. (2) Umā could lead a married life with Īśvara whose male organ could not be measured even by Brahman and Viṣṇu. (3) The saint Vyāsa has narrated thus in the Bhārata: 'The chief queen of Virāṭa king had no progeny. She propitiated a certain saint who asked her to go to the bamboo-bower and eat the dish whereby she would have one hundred children.

¹ For the convenience of general readers I have given the names in Sanskrit, though some of them appear to be un-Sanskritic in origin.

² Mūladeva and Mūlaśrī are alternative names.

She did so and went home After some time there arrived the saint Gāgali¹ and sat practising austerities under the bamboo-grove He glanced passionately at the nude nymphs bathing in the lake, and out of his first drop of semen there was born Kīcaka, as mighty as elephant Thus were generated one hundred Kīcakas who were all first accommodated in bamboos and who were later received by the queen' (4) Gangā was deluded by Hara in his matted hair for one thousand years (5) Viṣṇu, the creator of the world, was practising penance on the bed of ocean, the lotus-seated Brahman, with staff and gourd in hand, came out of the navel of Viṣṇu, but the lotus was caught stuck there (6) It is narrated in the Bhārata that Brahman began practising penance for thousand years, and the jealous gods wanted to frustrate his efforts Indra counselled thus 'Woman has been a mighty temptress, and none except Mahāvīrā could stand the arrows of Madana Seeing the limbs of Umā, Paśupati became passionate even at the sacred hour of marriage, and Dronācārya was generated from the semen-drop fallen in a pot Similarly eminent personalities like Gautama, Vasistha,² Pārāśara, Jamadagni, Kāśyapa, Agastya, Indra, Hara, Hari, etc., are all victims of cupid So Tilottamā should be sent to tempt Brahman, and thus his penance would be destroyed' Accordingly Tilottamā approached Brahman in a beautiful dress and began to dance before him like a Campaka flower When Brahman began to gaze at her, she stood dancing by his right side With a passionate craze for her Brahman developed four faces, as she shifted herself in different directions When she jumped up, he had on his head a fifth face, but it was plucked by Rudra Brahman was very much irritated and infuriated From the drop of perspiration on his forehead was born Svedakundalin³ who at Brahman's order, overthrew Śamkara (=Rudra=Īśvara=Hara) who ran to Viṣṇu for alms while the latter was practising penance in the Badarikāsrama Viṣṇu opened the vein on his forehead, but the skull of Brahman, which Īśvara held, could not be filled When Īśvara dipped his finger in the blood, a man Raktakundalin by name, was generated At Rudra's behest Raktakundalin fought against Svedakundalin Their long battle was declared drawn by the gods, one was given in charge of the Sun and the other in charge of Indra so that they might continue their fight in the Bhārata war When the Sun was enamoured by Kuntī's beauty and cohabited with her, Karna was conceived by her and delivered through the ear (7) It has been narrated in the Rāmāyana that Pavanaśuta, a monkey, crossed the ocean by his arms at the order of Rāghava and reached Lankā (8) For the benefit of the world, Gangā was invited from the heaven by gods, and her stream was received on the head by Īśvara for thousands of years

If the above events are acceptable, then that you were accommodated with the elephant in the gourd-kettle (Nos 1-3),⁴ that you deluded it for six months (No 4), that its tail-hair was stuck in the spout (No 5), that you could escape through the spout (No 6), that you crossed Gangā (No 7), and that you received her stream on your head (No 8) are all quite true You are a good man endowed with wisdom and fame' (I 35-93)

¹ Gāgali perhaps stands for Garga

² I have normalised these names according to the popular usage

³ Both Sanskrit and Gujarātī Texts read Sita-or Śveta-kundalin which has no etymological justification *Śveta* or *sita* is being used to balance against *rakta*, but we have to remember that one is born from *sveda* and the other from *rakta*

⁴ In round brackets are given the numbers of legends, noted above, in the light of which particular remarks are said to be true

II

Being requested by Mūlasrī, Kandarika began to narrate his experiences 'Naughty as I was in my boyhood, my parents drove me out of the house I reached a rich village on the frontier There a Yaksa, Kamaladala by name, lived under the Vata tree, he possessed miraculous powers, and he bestowed boons on women A fair was held in his honour, and people gathered together in gallant dress I joined the fair, paid respects to the deity, and attended the horse-play All of a sudden there was an attack from a well-equipped party of robbers, consequently one and all from the fair, even the horses, entered into a cucumber, the sports continued therein, and the party of robbers returned saying that the village had disappeared There arrived a flock of animals, a goat swallowed that cucumber, a boar gulped that goat, and a crane flew up to the top of the Vata tree, after eating up the boar A king was camping under that tree Mistaking the crane's leg for a banyan-shoot, a mad elephant was tied to it by the driver When the crane took up its leg, the elephant was lifted up, and the driver raised a cry that some one snatched away his animal Skilled archers rushed forth and shot the crane dead It fell lifeless on the earth like a mountain-peak At the king's order, its stomach was opened, and vivisection was continued on the inner contents, till at last all the people, horses, etc came out like a swarm of moths from a nest They went to their respective places, and I went home I have myself experienced all this, well, if you disbelieve, give us a feast' (II 1-25)

Elāsādhā, who had studied Purāṇa, Bhārata, etc, at once said that whatever Kandarika described was quite believable without any doubt He continued to confirm the same '(1) According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, in the beginning, when the five elements had not come into existence, there was the extensive ocean on the waves of which rolled an egg for a long time It broke into two halves, and out of one half came this earth Thus all the living beings, gods, men, beasts, etc, were found accommodated in that egg (2) In the Aranya-parvan, Mārkaṇḍeya has narrated his experience to Dharmaputra thus 'At the time of universal deluge, when there was water everywhere and the world was devoid of living habitation, an extensive and lofty Vata tree was seen A handsome boy was seated on a bed which was spread on its branches The saint Mārkaṇḍeya stretched his arms to receive the boy¹ lest he might succumb to the floods He visualised in the stomach of that boy the whole world with its mountains and forests He entered the stomach and dwelt there for one thousand years, but could not reach its end so he came out at last Thus a child's stomach could contain the whole world' (3) Devakī's waist was so slender that it could be caught in a fist, still Kṛṣṇa dwelt in her womb, and his stomach contained the earth with its mountains, forests, etc (4) Without being suffocated to death, all the people on the earth lived comfortably in the stomach of Vāsudeva and continued their activities such as agriculture, trade, battle, festivals, etc There is no doubt that the world was contained in Kṛṣṇa's stomach Once Brahman claimed that he is the creator (*kartā*), because the four Vāns emerged from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, but Kṛṣṇa retorted that his claim was ridiculous and that he (Brahman) was as good as his boy Kṛṣṇa continued that the earth and sky formed the cavity, the mountains his jaws and the ocean his tongue, if necessary, Brahman should enter his stomach and see that the whole world was there Kṛṣṇa further added that Brahman was ungratefully talking thus when he too was born from his navel (5) At the time of Draupadī's self-choice, it is reported that the mighty bow of Drupada was presided over by deities Drupada announced that he who strung his

¹ If we read *risino*, then it would mean that the boy received that saint

bow and shot the specified target would win the hand of Draupadī. Many kings failed to string it. That mighty Śiśupāla¹ was nearly successful, but Kṛṣṇa frustrated his attempt by putting into the bow some additional weight in the form of elephants, mountains, planets, etc. The bow was so heavy that even the earth could not bear the load. Arjuna, however, took the aid of Bhīma's palm for its support, ably strung the bow, and successfully hit the target. Draupadī was given to him in marriage. Thus the bow could contain mountains, planets, etc. (6) We hear in the Rāmāyana that Jatāyu, the vulture, fought with his wings against Rāvana who cut his wings in the fight, and when Jatāyu fell on the ground, he appeared as big as Mandara mountain. Sītā blessed him that his wings would be restored after meeting the messenger of Rāma. Hanumat was sent by Rāma in search of Sītā, and he mistook for a mountain that body of Jatāyu who gave him the necessary information about her. Jatāyu got the wings and flew to the heaven. So it means that a vulture can be as big as the Mandara mountain.

If the above events are true, then quite reliable are the incidents that the whole village could be accommodated in a cucumber (Nos. 1-3), that all the people could come out of it with their lives safe (No. 4), that a crane could contain all that (No. 5), and that there could be a big crane of that description (No. 6) ' (II 26-75)

III

Elāsādhā narrated his experiences thus: 'In my youth, greedy as I was, I pursued the fad of metallic transmutation and wandered everywhere in search of the specific juice, etc. On getting the information, I travelled a long distance with step covering hundred Yojanas, lifted a huge lid-stone, took the necessary juice from the golden pond, put the lid as before, and then returned home. Through the favour of that fluid, I had plenty of wealth and abundant possessions: servants waited on me, bards praised me, and young girls sang and danced round me. I gave gifts to the poor and needy. Hearing about my wealth, a party of well-equipped robbers besieged my palace at night. I thought, I must defend my well-earned property. With a bow in hand I fought against them and finished many of them on the spot. The rest of them attacked me at once, cut my head, put it on the *badara* tree, and went away after robbing all my property. My head comfortably began eating the *badara* fruits, and this was seen by people early in the morning. They realized that it was still living and joined all my limbs, and here I stand before you in person. If you find my personal experience unreliable, well, then give a feast' (III 1-19)

Śaśa affirmed that Elāsādhā's experience was quite reliable, because there are similar cases in Purāṇas, Bhārata and Rāmāyana. (1) Jamadagni suspected the fidelity of his wife Renukā who was enamoured of king Aśvāpahṛta and ordered his son (Paraśu-) Rāma to cut her head. He was pleased with his son Rāma who carried out the order and asked him to demand a boon. Rāma solicited that his mother should be restored to life, and she was made alive by Jamadagni. (2) The two halves of his body were conjoined by Jarā, and later on he became the great king Jarāsamdha. (3) The gods conspired to destroy the two mighty brothers, Sunda and Nisunda, who proved a terror to them. They contributed bits from their bodies and thus created an extremely beautiful nymph, Tilotamā by name. Humbly she received orders from gods and started on her mission to destroy

¹ The text reads Śaśipāla

the two brothers. Seeing her tempting limbs, Sunda and Nisunda grew passionate for her, they fought mutually for her sake and destroyed each other. Thus the gods could create Tilottamā by putting bits from their own bodies. (4) In his childhood Hanumat was instructed by his mother Añjanā that he was to eat red fruits whenever hungry. He mistook the sun for a fruit, and when he jumped up to snatch the solar orb, his body was reduced to pieces. Seeing his wife lamenting and the son killed, Pavana became enraged and retired to Pātāla. There was no breeze in the world, and people were very much worried. The gods approached and appeased him. The limbs of his son were put together, and he was made alive. His chin was missing, so in the absence of it, he came to be called Hanumat. Thus Hanumat could be made alive by putting together bits of his body. (5) When Rāma went to Lankā, a fierce fight ensued between his army and that of Rāvana. In course of fight prince Lakṣmana fell heavily wounded, and Rāma began to lament. Hanumat, however, went to Dronagiri and brought Niśālyā herb. Not only Lakṣmana was cured thereby but all the monkeys that were lying wounded were also healed and made alive. (6) Śiva and Pārvatī were enjoying amorous pleasure in a Himālayan cave for a long time, and all the gods were anxious, because they did not want any progeny from them. After long deliberations, they decided that Agni, obliging as he was, should go to Īśvara who might then perhaps abstain from coition. Agni was rather unwilling, because Śiva was a terrible and uncongenial fellow. Indra, however, prevailed upon Agni who was assured that Śiva would certainly behave better in the company of Umā. Though intervened by Umā, Īśvara was enraged to see Agni there and forced him to drink his semen. Agni was in flames as it were due to that semen, he rushed to the ocean, and he felt some relief only after vomiting it there. It is said that jewels arose out of this semen. Whatever bit was still remaining in his stomach Agni vomitted in a lotus-lake. Six nymphs, called Kṛttikā, were bathing in that lake, and they happened to conceive at the contact of semen. After the necessary period of time, they delivered the head, arms, thighs, trunk, etc. When they brought together the limbs with surprise, they got joined mutually at their proper places, and thus Mahāseṇa was born. He leads the rigorous life of a celibate and dwells in a forest in the South. Thus the limbs produced from different wombs could get joined and Mahāseṇa could be produced. (7) Rāhu has no head, still he moved in the sky and swallows (or eclipses) the sun and the moon. (8) Viṣṇu, in the guise of a Dvija, begged of Balī only three steps of the ground, pervaded thereby the whole world, and deprived him of the earth. (9) It is reported in the Rāmāyana that Hanumat, when Lakṣmana fell wounded in the battle between Rāma and Rāvana, brought the lofty mountain Drona with its vegetation, as he wanted some herb. (10) Madhumatha, in his incarnation of Varāha, lifted up the earth with its mountains, trees, etc.

If the above events are true, it is quite believable that the limbs of your body could get joined (Nos 1-6), that your head could taste *badara* fruits (No 7), that you could have a step measuring one hundred *yojanas* (No 8), and that you could lift up the heavy stone of the lid (Nos 9-10)' (III 20-98)

IV

Śaśa narrated his experience thus 'I have my field near the mountain, and once I went there from my village during autumn. An elephant rushed on me from the mountain. I trembled with fear and somehow managed to climb a lofty sesamum tree. The elephant whirled round the tree, sesamum seeds were showered all round, and when they were

crushed under its hoofs, there was a flood of sesamum oil. Stuck deep in mud, the elephant died of hunger and thirst. I breathed a sigh of relief, got down the tree, drank some ten pots of sesamum oil and ate a load of seed-stuff, prepared a bag of that elephant's hide, filled it with oil, and entered my village after placing that bag on a tree outside. I asked my son to bring the bag, but he could not see it, so he pulled out the tree and brought it home. This is my personal experience, well, if any one does not believe all this, he should entertain us with a feast' (IV 1-13)

Khandapānā said that there were parallels to Śaśa's experience in the Bhārata, Rāmāyana etc. She continued to confirm the same: (1) It is reported that, at Pātaliputra, a drum was carved from the wood of *māsa* plant. (2) According to the Bhārata the ichor fluid of elephants flowed like a flooded river, washing down elephants, horses and chariots. (3) Bhīmasena killed the demon Baka at Ekacakra and gulped pots of rice, a buffalo and a thousand jugs of wine. (4) It is said that Kumbhakarna, whenever he woke up, ate hundreds of men and drank a thousand pots of water. (5) According to Purāṇas, the saint Agastya drank the ocean in order to destroy Asuras. (6) On her way from heaven, the river Gangā passed through the matted hair of Hara. When she flowed through the hermitage of Jāhnu, he gulped and retained her in his stomach for one thousand years. (7) The saint Kāśyapa had two wives, Kadrū and Vinatā. These cowives once betted the loser should either become a life-long slave of the other or give nectar for her freedom. Vinatā became the slave of Kadrū who tried to disgrace her now and then. She was always miserable. Once she laid three eggs: the first produced a half-grown scorpion, and the second, the thighless Aruna who later on became the charioteer of the sun. She learnt a lesson, and broke the third egg after it was fully ripe. The mighty Garuda was produced, and he proved a great danger to the sons of Kadrū who, on that account, constantly teased Vinatā. On her being requested by Garuda, Vinatā explained to him how she was miserable due to her slavery and how she would be freed by the nectar the source of which was known to his blind father, now staying in the Badarī Āśrama. He went to Kāśyapa who recognised him by touch. According to his father's wish, that hungry Garuda satisfied his hunger by eating a huge elephant and an equally huge tortoise which were constantly disturbing the lake by mutual quarrel. On his way back he saw a huge, extensive Vata tree under which millions of Vālakhilya saints, the progeny of Brahman, were practising penance. Garuda sat on its branches, but they cracked easily. Fearing that the saints underneath might be killed, Garuda picked up that tree in his beak, flew across the sky to the great surprise of gods, and dropped it on an island which is known as Lankā and which is the abode of Rāvana. Once more he feasted on the Nisādas. He learnt from his father that the nectar-pond is situated beyond the hells and Pātāla, it is surrounded by burning flames, and that it is constantly guarded by gods, etc. One has to offer oblations to the flames, and then perhaps it might be obtained. He went there, satisfied the flames, and picked up the nectar-pot. Gods equipped with arms and weapons pursued him, and a heavy battle took place with Garuda on one side and the rest on the other. When the party of gods was routed away, Indra came on the field and used his missile without any effect. He invoked the help of Viṣṇu who pursued Garuda with his Cakra. Saints, planets, etc. approached Viṣṇu and told him that it was below his dignity to follow Garuda like this. Treaty was effected between the two, and Garuda became the banner of Viṣṇu. Vinatā was set free by that nectar. Thus the elephant and tortoise could be killed and the banyan tree could be carried by Garuda. (8) When it was heavily raining for a week, Madhumatha lifted the mountain Govardhana. (9) While building the dam

the monkeys brought mountains from a long distance and dropped them in the ocean (10) In destroying the park Hanumat easily rooted out big trees

If the above details are true, it is quite believable that there could be such a big sesamum tree (No 1), that there could be a stream of oil (No 2), that you could eat a load of seed-stuff and drink ten pots of oil (Nos 3-6), that you could carry the bag made of elephant-skin (Nos 7-8), and that your son could pull out the tree and carry it home (Nos 9-10)' (IV 14-94)

V

(i) Then that Khandapānā, the authoress of the Arthasāstra, suggested that all others should humble themselves before her to get a feast. Of course they were too proud to fold their hands to her. She smiled and began to narrate her experience. 'In my youth I was enchantingly beautiful. After the monthly bath, while sleeping in the veranda, I was enjoyed by the passionate Wind. Immediately I delivered a son, and after taking my leave, he went away somewhere. Tell me whether it is a lie, if it is true that the Wind can procreate a son, no barren woman would be found in this world' (V 1-10)

Mūladeva confirmed her experience thus. '(1) According to popular scriptures, the Wind procreated Bhimasena from Kuntī and Hanumat from Nīlā. (2) Vyāsa, born from Pārāśara and a fisher-woman, Yojanagandhā by name, walked away soon after his birth, instructing his mother to remember him on occasions. Through the favour of that saint, Yojanagandhā became a virgin again, was married to Śantanu and had a son Vicitravīrya who died without issues. She remembered Vyāsa fearing that the family might become extinct, and he procreated Pāndu, Dhṛtarāstra and Vidura, but cursed his bed-mates in the end. In the light of these events, it is quite natural that the Wind generated a child in you, and it walked away immediately after delivery' (V 11-19)

(ii) Khandapānā narrated further. 'Once my friend Umā entrusted me with miraculous syllables whereby I attracted the burning Sun who procreated in me a mighty son, but no harm was done to me.' (3) Kandaika said that it was quite possible, because Kuntī too was not burnt in any way by the Sun (who generated Kṛma from her) (V 20-23)

(iii) Khandapānā added further. 'A second time I attracted Agni, the mouth of gods, by whom a brilliant son was born to me, and I was not burnt in the least. How is it?' Elāśadha silenced her thus. '(4) The wife of Yama was being enjoyed by Agni, but on seeing that her husband arrived there, she swallowed Agni. Yama gulped her, and entered the assembly of gods who welcomed him as 'Mr yourself, the third'. He vomitted his wife, and she vomitted Agni who ran into the forest being pursued by him. The elephants did not give Yama any report¹, so he deprived them of their speech. Thus if Yama's wife was not burnt, how could you be burnt?' (V 24-31)

(iv) Khandā added again that once she attracted Indra by whom she had a son, and she asked how Indra could come to her in preference to celestial nymphs. Śaśa told her that it was quite possible. (5) Ahalyā was enjoyed by Indra who thereby suffered heavily at the hands of Gautama and whose consequent bodily pores became his thousand eyes, (6) secondly, Kuntī also got a son by Indra (V 32-37)

¹ See the Sanskrit version of the Dhṛtākhyāna

(v) On her inquiry, Mūladeva told Khandapānā that she was the daughter of Nāgaśarman and Somaśrī of Pātaliputra and her Gotra was Gautama. Khandapānā complained that her identity was confused, and narrated a bit of her biography thus 'My name is Dagdhikā, the artisan's daughter, wellknown among royal washer-men. My profession has been low, though our family is quite prosperous. Thousands of washermen worked under me, and with them, one day, I went to the river with a cart-load of clothes which were all washed clean and spread in the sunshine. Suddenly they were blown off by a whirl-wind. I asked the servants to run away and took the responsibility on me. Lest the king might punish me, I assumed the form of a lizard and reached the city park at night. Early morning I feared, I might be killed for a dish. After a good deal of thought, I changed myself into a mango plant. After day-break I heard the royal drum declaring all washermen to be excused, and once again I became a woman. The leather straps, etc. from the carts were eaten at night by jackals and dogs, but my father procured a mouse-tail out of which he got all of them once more prepared'. Śaśa said that it is quite believable that the tail of a mouse was so big as to prepare straps, etc., (7) because we know that the male organ of Śiva was immeasurably long, and (8) because the tail of Hanumat was so long as to encircle the city of Lankā which was burnt by it on its being covered with clothes, sprinkled with oil and ignited. He further added 'It is quite possible that you became a lizard and a mango plant, because we hear in the Purāṇas thus (9) Gandhārikāvara transformed himself into a Kurabaka tree (10) Then there was that mighty king Nahuṣa who vanquished Indra, but being cursed by Brhaspati, he became a boa in a forest. When Pāṇḍavas were banished into wilderness, the boa swallowed Bhīma. Dharma gave necessary replies to the boa which consequently vomitted Bhīma and which became the king at last'.

Khandapānā requested the rest of the rogues to accept quietly her authority, and then she would entertain them with a feast. In case she were to defeat them actually, they would be as worthless as a broken cowrie. The rogues thundered in reply that no one, not even a divine rogue, can vanquish them. With a view to put them to shame, she continued her biography and addressed them further 'With king's permission, I visited many places in search of those clothes blown off by the wind. I had lost, moreover, four of my servants since long, and in search of them I came here. I find now that you are those very servants and that you are wearing those very clothes. Either you accept this as true and be my slaves, or if you do not, well, give the feast'. All of them felt ashamed, as they were outwitted, they accepted her as their chief, and they requested her to entertain all the rogues during the rainy week (V 38-78).

Khandapānā smiled to see that their manly vanity was smashed, but when they all insisted on getting a feast from her, she agreed to that. She went to the burial ground which presented a hideous and horrible spectacle. She managed to get a dead baby which was physically intact and lately dropped there. After bathing it and muffling it in rags, she entered Ujjainī, approached a banker's mansion, and addressed the busy banker that she was a Brāhmin's daughter, that she had lately delivered a son, and that she was badly in need of money. The busy banker got irritated and asked his servants to drive her out. When force was used, she fell on the ground, and she started beating her breast etc. and lamenting loudly that her son, the only hope of her life, was killed by the banker who was so proud of his wealth. The banker was upset, and with all efforts tried to console her, requesting her not to raise a cry. He gave her an ear-ring and asked her to remove the

child quietly. She removed the dead body, and by that banker's gift everything was allright. After throwing the dead babe, she went to the jewel-market jubilantly, she sold the ring and gave a rich feast to the rogues who were shivering with cold. They all heartily congratulated her on her skill and generosity, and openly confessed that woman is wiser by birth than man. (V 79-110)

In this world various personalities like Candra, Indra, Vāyu, Sūrya, Agni and Dharma are all oppressed by passions. According to the scripture, Kṛṣṇa is ubiquitous and all-pervasive¹, then where is the need of his thinking about those (Gopīs) who are anxious for him? There are many other unbelievable legends current in the world, such as, the origin of (Pavana) Ganapati² from the limbs of Pārvatī, the births of Brahman, Tilottamā, Urvaśī, Drona and Sanmukha, the release of Narakūbara through Kṛṣṇa, the procreation of Svedakundala through anger and that of Nara (i.e., Raktakundala) from a pot of blood, and the birth of Yadava Balarāma through Māyā's mediation. Pārvatī was the daughter of mountain. If mountains are to deliver children, the world would be too small for human population. These and such other stories from the Bhārata and Rāmāyana are like artificial gold, and they do not stand the test of rational scrutiny. The popular scriptures do not contain any attractive stuff. Leaving them, therefore, one should follow the path preached by the Sarva-jña with a steady and pure faith. (V 111-22)

This fine Kathā, with its various legends, has been narrated to the pious residents of Citrakūṭa³, it has been composed by Haribhadra-sūri for purifying the faith, and may it bestow *bhava-viraha* on the faithful who hear and narrate it. (V 123-24)

Let Haribhadra, the Śvetāmbara Sūri, who has such a faith in the brilliant Jaina doctrine, bestow welfare on us. (V 125)

3 Purpose, Technique and Form

Whatever may be their historical explanation and symbolical signification, there are innumerable legends, scattered all over the epics and Purāṇas, which, on account of some detail or the other, are unnatural, inconsistent, exaggerated and unacceptable to reason. The 'precious blossoms of immortal poetic art and profound wisdom' seen in the epics are often overpowered by an array of irrational legends. 'It is only unpoetical theologians and commentators and clumsy copyists who have succeeded in conglomerating into a heterogeneous mass parts which are actually incompatible and which date from different centuries'.⁴ What is true of the Mahābhārata is much more true about the Purāṇas which are well-known for their sectarian multiplication of myths and legends and hyperbolic exaggeration of details. Even from amongst the custodians and adherents of these texts the revisionists have tried their hands on them partly to make the legends conform to the changing ethico-moral notions and partly to rationalise and humanise them by removing glaring inconsistencies etc. This is amply borne out by the recensions and textual variations detected by critical editors⁵. The episode of Draupadī's marriage and

¹ Some of these verses present difficulties for interpretation.

² Is there any implication here that Ganapati was the leader of the party of Maruts?

³ The phrase *Citrakūṭa-durga-siri* clearly refers to the ancient fort on the crest of the hill. For its description, see Peterson's Reports, I, pp. 46 f.

⁴ Winternitz. A History of Indian Literature, I, p. 326.

⁵ The Ādi-parvan, Poona 1933, Prolegomena, p. 43 f.

the way in which the later Kāvya etc use the Purāṇic legends sufficiently illustrate the above tendencies. We cannot expect the zealous follower to ridicule in any way the Purāṇic legends or to raise a moral protest against the sins in the world of gods, held by him in reverence. That Kannada poet Sarvajña is an exception. He has spared none from his severe satirical stings. According to him our Mahābhārata is a tale of brothers killing brothers and of looseness of marriage institution (*hādara*), and those who respectfully attend to it degrade themselves.

Haribhadra's attack, in the Dhūrtākhyāna is directed against such legends found in the epics and Purāṇas. His conclusion is threefold: the popular scriptures, when one scrutinizingly studies them, are found to contain worthless stuff that looks smooth only from outside (V 120), the legends narrated in them do not stand the test of rational scrutiny and are unacceptable like artificial gold (V 119), and the pious, who believed in them so far, should abandon them and follow the path of Sarvajña (V 121). Indirectly, but inevitably, these works being religious scriptures, the entire Purāṇic religion and its followers are being exposed to criticism, the former for having contained such legends and the latter for their acceptance of the same.

Logical polemics and witty criticism are the two recognised modes of attack, their ultimate purpose is to knock down the opponent, but their ways and intermediate tactics are different, and the weapons in their armouries and their movements on the field are dissimilar. The former necessarily requires an elaborate and systematic siege and a trained audience to pronounce the judgement, while the latter needs alert wit and adroit movements. If one is a trenched battle, the other is a guerilla warfare. The success of the former leaves behind acrimony that might involve endless attacks and counter attacks, but that of the latter wounds the opponent without leaving a scar and pricks him without bleeding. Logicians can be trained for the purpose, but a witty critic is an artist by birth.

Haribhadra is an eminent logician, no doubt, but, in this work, on the whole, we see him more as a witty critic assailing the citadel of Purāṇic legends. The plot of the work is simple. It is a story of five rogues each of whom recounts an impossible, fantastical experience which is confirmed to be true by one or the other colleague after quoting parallels from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, etc. In the last chapter this mode of presentation is slightly modified. It is their female accomplice that narrates her experiences, and the remaining take their respective chances to confirm the same by Purāṇic parallels. She narrates her biography, and suddenly puts them on the horns of a dilemma: if they accept her statement, they have to submit to her as slaves, and if they refuse, they have to give a feast to the whole gathering. They find that they are outwitted, her superiority is accepted, she trickily extracts wealth from a merchant by charging him with the murder of her child, and all the rogues get a grand feast from her. To this plot, which is mainly made up of conversation with casual descriptions, there is a Preamble (I 1-16) which introduces the rogues, their stipulation and their agreement, besides the opening *mangala*, and there is also a Conclusion (V 111 f) which summarily denounces some of the legends, besides giving the author's conclusion, aim and personal details.

The improbable and fantastic tales narrated by the rogues as a part of their experience, are consistent and compact units. Even the elements of exaggeration are quit in keeping with medieval tales. If they were not followed by any legendary confirmation, they could be easily passed off as amusing and adventurous tales, quite innocent in their constitution.

But when the author holds them up side by side with the Purāṇic legends, their sarcastic potency becomes at once apparent. The tales by themselves speak highly for the skilful inventiveness of Haribhadra. As they stand, I think, they are composed by Haribhadra himself, keeping in view the Purāṇic legends to be denounced. The stories thus are his creation, but quite well-known in Indian literature are some of their motifs namely, a wild elephant pursuing a traveller, people holding a fair in honour of a Yakṣa, a robber-party attacking a caravan, an ambitious youth pursuing the mutage of metallic transmutation by procuring some juice from an inaccessible pond, etc. It is the use of these motifs that at once lends a popular air and a sort of reality to the tales of rogues. The first four stories illustrate the author's ingenuity as also the richness of his imagination, whereas the story of Khandapānā shows his wit and fund of worldly wisdom.

Haribhadra has a special fascination for popular stories of humorous and satirical style. Some of them in Prākṛit he quotes in his commentary on the *Daśavakālikasūtra*¹. In one we have a group of Kārpātikas, they begin narrating their fantastical experiences, but a rational Śrāvaka tries to expose the weakness in the narration². In another context he quotes a fine dilemmatic short story which reminds us of the dilemma of Khandapānā³. In a certain town there was a Parivrājaka who roamed about with a golden bowl declaring that he would give it to one who narrated to him an unheard event. A Śrāvaka addressed him thus, 'Your father owed to my father one hundred thousand coins if you know this already, please return the amount, but if you do not know it, please give the golden bowl as declared by you'. He also quotes a fine satirical verse in Sanskrit, possibly summarising some earlier conversation in Prākṛit, made up of questions and answers. It is said to be put in the mouth of a Dhūrta and addressed to a Buddhist monk who had a net-like garment on his person. The verse may be freely rendered thus⁴ 'Sir, why is your garment

¹ Śrī Daśavakālikasūtram with Haribhadra's commentary, Bombay 1918, pp. 54, 56 f.

² एगस्मि देवकुले कप्पडिया मिलिया भणंति । केण भे भमंतेहिं किचि अछेरियं दिट्ठं । तत्थ एगो कप्पडिगो भणइ । मए दिट्ठं ति । जइ पुण एत्थ समणोवासओ नत्थि तो साहेमि । तओ सेसेहिं भणियं । णत्थित्थ समणोवासओ । पच्छा सो भण । मए हिंढतेणं पुव्ववेयालीए समुदस्त तडे रुक्खो महइमहंतो दिट्ठो । तस्सेगा साहा समुदे पइट्ठिया एगा य थले । तत्थ जाणि पत्ताणि जले पडति ताणि जलचराणि सत्ताणि हवंति । जाणि थले ताणि थलचरणि हवंति । ते कप्पडिया भणंति । अहो अछेरयं देवेण भट्टारएण णिम्मियं ति । तत्थेगो सावगो कप्पडिओ । सो जाणि अद्धमज्जे पडंति ताणि किं हवंति । ताहे सो खुट्ठो भणइ । मया पुव्वं चेव भणियं । जइ सावओ नत्थि तो कहेमि । Pp. 54-5

³ एगस्मि नगरे एगो परिव्रायगो सोवण्णएण खोरएण तहिं हिंइइ । सो भणइ । जो मम अमुयं सुणावेइ तस्स एयं देमि खोरयं । तत्थ एगो सावगो । तेण भणियं । तुज्झ पिया मम पिउणो धारेइ अणूणयं सयसहस्स । जइ सुयपुव्वं दिज्जउ अइ न सुयं खोरयं देहि ।

⁴ किल कोइ तच्छणिओ (= बौद्ध) जालवावडकरो मच्छगवहाए चलिओ । धुत्तेण भण्णइ । आयरिय अघणा ते कंथा । सो भणइ । जालमेतमित्यादि श्लोकादवसेयम् । 'कन्थाचार्यधना ते' ननु शफरववे जालम्, अभासि मत्स्यान्, ते मे मद्योपदंशान्, पिबसि, ननु युतो वेश्याया, यासि वेश्याम् । कृत्वारीणां गळेऽही, क्व नु तव रिपवो, येषु सधिं छिन्धि, चौरस्त्व, द्यूतहेतो, कितव इति कथं, येन, दासीसुतोऽसि ॥' इदं लौकिकम् etc p. 54

thread-bare? Well, it is for netting fish. Do you eat fish? I take them when excited by wine. Do you drink wine? When I mate with a hetaera. Do you visit a prostitute? After kicking on the necks of my enemies. Whence have you enemies? Those whose houses I have broken into. Are you a burglar? Just for the purpose of gambling. Are you a Rogue? Because I am a slave-girl's son'. These illustrate Haribhadra's acquaintance with and aptitude for humorous and satirical folktales.

Haribhadra is an adept story-teller. If we casually glance through his Samarāicca-kahā, we find that he is well-informed about the workings of human mind and about the human behaviour in general. His experience is wide, naturally he creates characters and situations of engrossing interest. The Samarāicca-kahā¹ gives many counter tales which go to confirm the central idea of the main story. He possesses a special liking for symbolical epilogues, apparently meaningless, but full of significance and instruction when they are explained. Enlightenment by absurd stories and situations is a fine weapon which Haribhadra brandishes quite successfully. Arhaddatta (Sixth Bhava), for instance, was enlightened when he was incurably attached to the pleasures of body by telling him that he was as foolish as a person extinguishing fire with grass. Absurd situations are presented illustrating such motifs. Similar tendencies are seen in the Dhū as well. The fantastic tales expose the absurdity of Purāṇic legends, and thus enlighten and correct those that put faith in the Purāṇic religion.

It is the agreement of rogues that supplies a graceful bracket for the projection of the plot. Lest he would be required to give the stipulated feast, every rogue is anxious to confirm the fantastic stories by quoting similar Purāṇic legends. It is in the fitness of things that every rogue should be given the chance of confirming the experience of their female companion, otherwise, if only one were to be given this chance, there would arise some jealousy and others would not have the opportunity of being chivalrous. It is not the story as a whole, but just some of the convenient points of it that are selected for confirmation with one or more similar legends and episodes from the epics and Purāṇas. The legends get automatically ridiculed, because they are closely parallel to the incidents or points in the fantastic story. As the rogues go on attempting to prove the impossible with the aid of Purāṇic legends, the legends themselves get ridiculed. Thus, to a certain extent, the author is using the mode of *reductio ad absurdum* in denouncing the legends.

All of them are confirmed rogues, quite expert in their business, and it is not without some significance that they should be made to dabble in Purāṇic legends, as if this was quite on par with their usual routine! It looks like a bit of irony that the legends should be put in the mouth of rogues and that they should come forth to prove the impossible by quoting them! Ākhyāna is usually a serious tale, especially an epical or Purāṇic episode. It is certainly a piece of pungent sarcasm, if Ākhyāna refers here (V. 6) to the fantastic tales narrated by rogues. If it refers to the series of Purāṇic legends and episodes, it is equally ironical that they should be put in the mouth of rogues and that both of them should prominently figure in the title of the book! Thus the plot, the mode and accessories of attack and even the title all these are not only appropriate but also partial and favourable for the artistic performance which Haribhadra has achieved here. Even minor touches add to the ironical flavour of the atmosphere. Mūladeva declares that he is putting up with *parisaha* such as hunger and thirst (I. 28), a veritable Jaina monk indeed!, Kandarika

¹ Ed. H. Jacobi, B. I., No. 169, Calcutta 1926.

salutes the feet of Jina like a pious devotee (II 24), Khamdavānā qualifies herself as *atthārasa-dosavivajjyā* (V 98), an adjective usually applied to the Tīrthakara, and lastly, that hypocritically exacted tip is glorified as a Dāna, a pious donation, which renders everything allright (V 102). There are some drawbacks—sometimes the same legends and motifs are repeated and in some places there is some obscenity. As to the first one wished that the author avoided this repetition, but as to the second, it was inevitable, if the author wanted to expose the obscenity of some of the Purāṇic legends.

By assimilating different traditions Western literature has come to possess an astonishing variety of literary expression. The fact becomes obvious even to a superficial student of English literature, if he simply notes its chief landmarks and growth. Scholars comparing the ancient Indian literature with that of the English are struck with the manifold variety, range and artistic appeal in the latter. The disparity can be explained away on the basis of the peculiar lines on which each civilization advanced. Apart from its intrinsic merits and abiding values, in a way, by taking into account the range of time covered by the civilization, the extent of the land and the magnitude of the population, one has to admit that the ancient Indian literature, available to us today, is comparatively small in quantity and limited in variety. The reasons are apparent. On the whole, the Indian mind has enjoyed the comfort of dignified isolation from constant foreign influence. Religious spirit has permeated not only Indian life, but also Indian literature—even secular compositions could not escape religio-moral influence. Both men of letters and literary life in India are confined, as a rule, to an insignificant minority of hereditary intellectual aristocrats. Antiquity is an asset, but not necessarily a virtue. Old turns of expression and moulds of thought got stereotyped, and as conventions they had a metallic grip on ancient Indian literature. Even the training of an Indian poet or author is of a standardised cast—the aims are settled, the themes are dictated, type-characters are supplied, and even ready-made descriptions and stylistic devices are kept at the disposal of an author in the making. Ordinary intellect got crippled, though sufficiently trained, it is only the extraordinary genius that attempted to open new literary paths somewhat deviating from the accepted standards. In isolated branches of literature, the Indian mind exhibits remarkable elevation, successful finish and consummate polish, but the lack of variety is apparent everywhere. The fact that ancient India, which could boast of the greatest masterpieces in epic poetry and certain kinds of fiction and drama, has neither a tragedy after the manner of the Greeks nor satire in Roman fashion is to be attributed to the peculiar way in which the Indian mind evolved and the Indian author was trained for his job. The Sanskrit or even Indian 'poetic theory of super-individual emotion and its complacent attitude towards life', as Dr De remarks, 'precluded any serious cultivation of the satiric type of literature.'

Satire as a form of literature has been conspicuously absent in early Indian literature. India, however, has not been lacking in literary geniuses that were trained according to standard discipline. Every age has its follies and faults, and these geniuses, on account of their righteous indignation and as a wholesome correction, must have brandished their satirical whip against social disorders and diseases. Such satirical compositions could not have the same sanctity as that enjoyed by religious works, and it is not unlikely that many specimens have not come down to us, even if the art of satire was duly cultivated. Satire, moreover, is an indispensable stylistic quality in some forms of literature, and the elements of this quality are found scattered, here and there, in early Indian literature—in stories, in minor poems and in plays.

The *Daśakumāracarita*, on account of its setting, substance, characters and events, is far from possessing the stereotyped orthodox outlook in fact, it is a remarkable contribution of a novel type in Sanskrit. It presents a lively and realistic picture of the society, some glimpses of which we get in the *Mrcchakatikam*. Dandin is unconventional by temperament. Though it is not his aim to give his composition the form of a satire, he has easily meted out some satirical lashes against gods who are dragged down to illustrate the disgraceful deeds of the characters (pp 29, 44), against Brāhmanas who are greedy for wealth and divert themselves by cock-fighting (p 96), against hypocritical ascetics whose passion is easily kindled (p 44 f), against the Digambara Jaina monk who is made to confess the worthlessness of his mode of life (p 47 f), and against Buddhist nuns who are ridiculed as go-betweens. The adventurous tales of young princes have an enchanting grip on the readers mind, and Dandin's tendency to ridicule certain aspects of the society by satire and caricature, quietly but effectively, is apparent in various places¹. In this context attention may be drawn to the *Bharataka-Dvātrimsikā*², a late work of the fourteenth century A D, in popular Sanskrit. The term *bharataka* means a kind of Śaiva monks, and this collection of thirty-two tales is designed for purposes of exposing the *mūrkhā-jana-carita* so that one might understand *sadācarana*. The Śaiva monks are satirized by means of stories illustrating their moral depravity and stupidity. The *bharataka* is made to quote the parallels of gods and saints to justify his behaviour, thus ridiculing the gods and saints as well with himself. Some of the stories exhibit a good fund of worldly wisdom, wit and humour.

Somehow the element of satire seen in poems and play is not of a very high order the art of satirising becomes bald abuse and coarse ridicule, if it does not leave behind a healthy and correcting influence. The *Kuttinimata* of Dāmodaragupta (c 779-813 A D) is more erotico-comic than satiric³. Another polymath who has studiously worked in this line is Ksemendra, of the middle of the eleventh century A D. Some of his works deserve special attention in this context. His *Samayamātrkā* deals with the traditional erotic topics. It presents varied pictures of the society, and the situations are sketched in a pointed style. 'The merit of the work lies not in its unsavoury story, but in its heightened, yet graphic, picture of droll-life, painted with considerable sharpness of phrasing and characterisation, and with an undertone of mocking satire directed against many forms of prevalent deformity'. His *Darpadalana* is equally interesting. His salutation to *viveka* in the opening *Mangala* is quite significant. In seven sections it demonstrates the folly of pride based on *kula*, *dhana*, *vidyā*, *rūpa*, *śaurya*, *dāna* and *tapas*. Besides the gnomic verses on each, they are illustrated with tales invented for the purpose. The form is interesting. More than once the author drags the Purāṇic deities and personalities on a lower plain by citing how they have not been immune from these flaws (I 17 f, III 79 f, IV 18 f, etc). The moral tone is quite predominant, and the attack on holiness, though casual, is sufficiently pungent. His *Kalāvīlāsa* is a satirical discourse in ten sections, put in a legendary setting. The first chapter lashes the roguish hypocrisy, *dambha*, seen in different walks of life, found not only among men and women of different classes but also among birds and

¹ *Daśakumāracarita* of Dandin, Revised in one vol. by G. J. Agashe, 2nd ed., Bombay Sk. and Pk. Series, Bombay 1919, Keith. A History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford 1928, pp 296 f., S. K. De. The Prose Kāvya of Dandin, Subandhu and Bāṇa, Festschrift Prof. Kane, pp 112-44, Poona 1941.

² Ed. J. Hertel, Leipzig 1921.

³ Keith. A History of Sk. Literature, pp 236 f., S. K. De. Some Satiric Poems in Sanskrit, Indian Culture, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp 1-8.

vegetables. He is harsh on Gaudas, and now and then even sacred deities and sages are not spared. The remaining chapters deal with greed, erotic impulse, harlot, Kāyastha, pride, etc. His scourges on the greedy merchant, quack doctor, pretending astrologer, crooked Kāyastha, etc., are bitter and wounding. This 'work is thus a remarkable and comprehensive discourse, with a legendary framework, on the various activities of notorious tricksters known to Ksemendra, and his easy and elegant style makes the descriptions amusing and the satire effective.' As observed by Dr De, Ksemendra's compositions are 'noteworthy satirical sketches exaggerated *cum grano salis* but substantially faithful, having less frequent lapses into squalor or coarseness, and composed in the best literary manner of Ksemendra. There is nothing of melancholy wisdom in Ksemendra. Knowing full well the castigating use of satire, he deals out his blows too liberally, but with precision, with bitter and often foul-mouthed presumption, but with the unerring, insight of a shrewd observer.' Ksemendra's satirical writings assume all the more importance, because his successors like Jahlana, Nilakantha Dikṣita, etc., never rose to his heights. They are all steeped in the time-honoured mould of religious didacticism and hackneyed criticism. 'Anxious to maintain respectability, they are afraid of descending to the repellent reality which their subject demands, and only touch the fringe of it, from a safe distance, with the stick of romantic verse.'

Among the plays, it is the Bhāna and the Prahasana types¹ that contain a great deal of satirical element. Bhāna is a monologue play, the only character is a Vita or Dhūrta who narrates, with imaginary questions and answers and with various gestures, either his experience or that of others. Most of the existing specimens of *bhānas* are comparatively modern and belong to the South, they lack variety and are of the same pattern, almost made to order, and they are predominantly permeated with erotic sentiment, very often coarse in taste. There is very little of genuine satire in them, we get, however, satirical touches in the descriptions 'of the licentious Paurāṇika, the old Śrōtriya, the fraudulent astrologer and (but this rarely) the Jangamas, Śaivas and Vaisnavas (as in the *Śrngārātīlaka*)'. The Hāsyacūdāmaṇi of Vatsarāja ridicules the Bhāgavatas, while the Mukundānanda pours a great deal of pungent satire against the Gurjara people. Such satirical touches are almost thrown into background by their mechanical characters, the roguish parasites and the hatereas and by excessive eroticism. The four Bhānas, which are edited as *Caturbhāṇi*² and which definitely belong to an earlier age, present 'more variety, greater simplicity, a larger amount of social satire and comic relief, a more convincing power of drawing individuals rather than types, easier and more colloquial style, and some measure of real poetry in spite of certain coarseness'. In the *Padmaprābhātaka*, the Vita, Śaśa by name, a friend of Karmīputra Mūladeva (both of them of Ujjainī), gets a specified individuality. The racy speeches of the Vita, in the *Pādatāḍītaka*, are remarkably satirical, his ridicule is abundantly directed against the Lātas and the Buddhist order, and the Dāscrakas, Saurāstras and Mālavas are not spared from casual hits. These Bhānas are often obscene, if not vulgar, and the primal sensations are portrayed with a rough realism and terrible sincerity. For a student of literature, as Dr De rightly remarks, 'it is more than useless to read austere morals into these old-time play-wrights or damn them for want of morals'.

¹ I have derived much help from two important papers by Dr S. K. De. A Note on the Sanskrit Monologue-Play (Bhāna) with Special Reference to the Caturbhāṇi, JRAS, 1926, pp. 63-90, and The Sanskrit Prahasana, The Poona Orientalist, VII, 3-4, pp. 149-56.

² Caturbhāṇi, ed. by Kavī and Sastri, Patna, 1922.

Turning to the Prahāsana, the popular farce, there is ample scope for social satire in it by the very nature of its subject-matter, but the specimens that have survived are far from being satisfactory. Their wit and humour, which would make one laugh, lie in deliberately vulgar exhibitions and expressions. In short, the whole atmosphere in the Prahāsana, on account of conventional characters and incidents and the high-strung erotic sentiment, is low and depressing. The *Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravikrama (7th Century A.D.) is a slight farcical sketch depicting the drunken and passionate revelry of a Śaiva mendicant, calling himself a *Kapālin* on account of the human skull carried by him in lieu of his alms-bowl which is said to be stolen by a hypocritical Buddhist monk. A degenerate Pāśupata comes to settle the case of theft, and finally the missing bowl is obtained from a madman who had retrieved it from a dog. Thus the wreckless wrangling in the monastic order is broadly satirised. The Prahāsanas like *Lataka-melaka*, *Dhūrtasamāgama*, etc., have much to do with rogues and knaves, the Jaina and Buddhist monks are held in ridicule, but with their symbolic characters, whatever little wit and satire they possess is often defaced by open vulgarity and erotic descriptions. Stray satirical verses in Sanskrit and Prākṛit may be collected from anthologies and from illustrations on the rhetorical device called *vyāṅga-stuti*, but they cannot, being isolated verses, exhibit any sustained style as such. Thus this survey leaves us cold that early Indian literature has not achieved much in the field of satire.

Haribhadra is a genius by birth and a satirist by temperament. He has bequeathed to posterity a valuable contribution to Indian literature through his *Dhūrtākhyāna* which is unique in various respects. We might try to assess its value, as a work of art, from the point of view of a modern critic of letters. The terminology of English criticism¹ cannot be literally applied to Indian works, because the terms have sometimes specified associations and import. The *Dhū* apparently looks like a parody inasmuch as it ridicules by imitation, but if we go into details we find that it cannot be called a parody for various reasons: no work or class of works is *continuously* ridiculed through word-, form- or sense-rendering, secondly, the imaginary tales narrated by rogues do not easily remind us of any one story or of any work or class of works, thirdly, the legends that are ridiculed do not come serially or at random from any one composition, but they are heaped from different sources to hold in ridicule their common motif something like what is already noted in the invented tale, and lastly, there is no deliberate attempt on the part of the author to confound issues by distortion or exaggeration of facts. The *Dhūrtākhyāna*, therefore, can be better and more appropriately called a satire of incredible Purāṇic legends and episodes and against the credulity of those that believe them, using parodical imitation as its chief vehicle and casually taking recourse to irony, sarcasm, banter, wit and humour. It is a satire, and a perfect one, because of its unique construction, a delicious mingling of phantasy and reality, subtle sense of characterization (though in a limited quantity) and above all the startling situation of devils discussing scriptures which make it an inimitable piece of railery and a good humoured amusement for all. Haribhadra possesses a righteous indignation which is passionate, noble and fearless. Like a true satirist, he thoroughly ridicules rather objectively, in his *Sambodha-prakarana*,² the vices that had perhaps crept into the Jaina monastic order of his times. He detests, pities and condemns the vices and the

¹ See the articles on Parody by Christopher Stone and on Satire by Gilbert Cannan in *The Art and Craft of Letters Series*. See also English Satires, in the *Casket Library Series*, especially the Introduction.

² Ed. *Jaina Grantha Prakāśaka Sabhā*, Ahmedabad 1916, especially *Gurvādhikāra*.

irreligious routine of the ascetic life, while in the *Dhū* he satirizes the folly of the degenerating belief of the masses in Purāṇic legends. Monks are morally and religiously degraded, and the public is on the verge of rational bankruptcy, and here Haribhadra comes like an expert surgeon to ply his satirical instrument, before he can put the bandage of religious and didactic teaching. Like Voltaire, Haribhadra was out to cure, and he had a panacea, Reason. Haribhadra is a champion of rational and logical attitude, he declares in one place ¹ 'I am not partial to Mahāvīra, nor do I bear any ill will against Kapila and others, whose words appeal to reason, his mission is to be upheld'. He has given vent to this spirit more than once. The good satirist, we know, holds a place half-way between preacher and the wit. He has the purpose of the first and uses the weapons of the second. He must both hate and love. For what impels him to write is not less the hatred of error and folly than the love of right and wise vision. The satirist's appeal is always to the intellect, and rarely does he play upon the emotions. His is a perfectly rational attitude strengthened by the nicest sense of proportion. Like a rationalist, Haribhadra's approach is intellectual, apart from his being a champion of logic and reason, but his still greater asset is the mental poise with which he meets his opponents. He is not a logician infuriated with religious fanaticism, but he is a genuine rationalist of a balanced mind, and to a certain extent we see this even in the *Dhūrtākhyāna*. As a genius Haribhadra has at his back a fund of good logic. Quite skilfully and humorously, like a creative artist, he applies it to the incredible Purāṇic ideas which have a sway over men's minds, the invented tales are full of logical extremes and absurdities, and when the Purāṇic legends are set on par with them, they cannot but be ridiculous and absurd. The minds that start doubting the veracity of invented tales are easily led to denounce the Purāṇic legends. With untiring assiduity he scrutinizes, sorts and shifts the Purāṇic legends according to their points of weakness, and pours them forth to substantiate the most ridiculous extremes and distortions with the result that not only the purpose of proving the unprovable fails but the Purāṇic legends themselves get ridiculed as improbable and absurd. The result is startling, though inevitable. He satirizes the legends rather by exposing them by selection and comparing them with ridiculously fantastic tales than by vehemently denouncing them. As we see below, Haribhadra exhibits a remarkable intellectual honesty, so far as the main motifs are concerned, he does not tamper with the Purāṇic legends: he does not distort them to ridicule them.

'The true end of satire is the amendment of vices by correction', says Dryden, and he is perfectly right in hitting at the end and aim of all great satires so emphatically. Haribhadra has undoubtedly a religio-moral purpose, hinted rather than elaborated (V 122, 124), in writing this *Ākhyāna*. As has been observed, the polished raillery and the good natured satire have an ethical under-current, otherwise 'the satire which only seeks to wound is as dangerous as arrows that fly in the dark'. It must be said to Haribhadra's credit that the satirical artist in him has successfully, and also rightly, predominated over the religious preacher in him. 'No artist can do more than set his practised and controlled talent to work on the subject chosen and constantly developed for him by the inspiration of his

¹ In his *Lokuttara-nirṇaya* 'पक्षपातो न मे वीरे न द्वेषः कपिलादिषु । युक्तिमद्वचनं यस्य तस्य कार्यः परिग्रहः ॥' and in his *Yogabindu* 'आग्रही बत निनीषति युक्तिं तत्र यत्र मतिरस्य निविष्टा । पक्षपातरहितस्य तु युक्तिरत्र तत्र मतिरेति निवेशम् ॥'

genius' Our author just exercises his imagination in the way laid down for him by his characters and circumstances, and one feels that even if he had stopped his work at V 109 (of course followed by V 119-24), nothing fundamental would have been missed. Nowhere does he show the temptation of preaching moral lessons like a professional religious teacher. Any other mediocre author would have introduced a Kevalin at the end to give a *dhamma-kahā* whereby all the rogues would be turned into pious believers who would ultimately reach liberation after observing *saṃlehaṇā*. Haribhadra has fully and rightly restrained himself from adding to his composition any such conclusion so usual and normal in Jaina tales. The Dhūrtākhyāna, therefore, has a literary form, nothing specially religious about it, it is an out-and-out satire, an artist's creation, and as a literary product, it is far ahead of its time. In fact, coming so early as in the 8th century A.D., Dhū reveals such an artistry and management of the material as one can simply marvel at. Not even the works of Kṣemendra, who does possess a satirical skill and whose performance we have reviewed above, can match the Dhūrtākhyāna, which is nearly three hundred years older than him, with regard to construction and subtle satirical effect. Haribhadra is throughout an artist, while Kṣemendra's satire is overladen with and defaced by heavy didacticism. If one understands our author's *bhava-viraha* as an escape from the tedium of life, Haribhadrasūri will have the credit of hitting at an accepted standard of the greatness of satire in modern times.

The characters introduced by Haribhadra are not altogether imaginary, but, in fact, most of them are well-known figures in Indian popular tale and picaresque literature. Mūlaśrī or Mūladeva¹ is a famous character as a Jack of all trades given to gambling and attached to courtesan Devadattā. It appears that he had alternative names such as Karṇisuta, Mūlabhadra and Kalānkura. Even a treatise on theft or erotics is attributed to him by tradition. Certainly he is an old figure. Haribhadra himself quotes a Prākṛit story in his commentary on the Daśavaikālika-sūtra (p. 57 f.) in which Mūladeva figures as a tricky rogue. The Avantisundarikathā (verse 7) mentions him, Bāna also, in his Kādambarī, refers to him with his friend Śaśa, and both of them are introduced (with Devadattā) in the Padmaprābhrtaka. He figures as a typical hero in the Kalāvīlāsa of Kṣemendra. The Kathāsrītsāgara also gives his story, and he is associated with the court of Vikramāditya. We get a Jaina edition of the tale of Mūladeva and Devadattā quoted in Devendra's commentary on the Uttarādhyayana². Thus Mūladeva appears to have reached the status of a popular hero typifying all that is tricky and roguish. The name Kamdariya is met with in the Ardhamāgadhi canon³, he is not a rogue, but a worldly-comfort-seeking character destined to go to hell. Jaina stories mention names like Ilāputra and Āsādhabhūti, and according to the Abhidhāna-Rājendra, Elāsādhā is a famous rogue from Avanti referred to in the Nisītha-cūrṇi⁴. Śaśa, as noted above, appears to have been a close associate of Mūladeva. We do not know anything about Khamdavānā from other sources. Her name

¹ On Mūladeva see Dr De's paper on the Bhāṇa, JRAS, 1926, Avantisundarikathā, Madras 1924, Kāvya-mālā I, p. 36, foot-note 1, Caturbhāṇī, Intro. p. 111, Mūladeva's story from Devendra's commentary on the Uttarādhyayana is edited by Jacob in his Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri Leipzig 1886, its English translation 'Hindu Tales' by Meyer, London 1909, also Prākṛitakathāsamgraha by Jinavijayaṇi, Ahmedabad. A paper 'The Character and Adventure of Mūladeva' by M. Bloomfield has appeared in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 52, 1913, pp. 616-650, but it has not been accessible to me.

² Śrī-Uttarādhyayanāni, Bombay 1927.

³ Nāyādharmakahā, I, 19.

⁴ This work is not accessible to me, and it is necessary to see what details are given by the Cūrṇi.

has a popular ring and baffles Sanskritic etymology. Though most of the characters are already known, there is very little of characterization in the *Dhūrtākhyāna*. It is only *Khandapānā*, with her coarseness and sharp intellect, that is a bit individualized. She is a good combination of a woman and a rogue. She is intelligent, hypocritical, scheming and witty, her success in getting the wealth from the merchant is quite worthy of her nature and trade, without any difference of opinion she becomes the President of Rogues; and she smashes the vanity and satisfies the appetite of her colleagues by a well-earned and sumptuous feast. One wishes that Haribhadra spent more labour and greater insight in making the characters and stories more individualistic as has been done by Chaucer in his immortal *Canterbury Tales*.

The literary device of picares narrating their experience with a satirical vein is seen to a certain extent in the *Daśakumāracarita* and in the *Bhāna* type of dramas, but the manner in which and the purpose for which Haribhadra has adopted it is remarkable. We know some of his successors like *Amitagatī* etc., but we are absolutely in the dark about his predecessors in the field. The form, however, is dramatic in which characters are made to speak, Haribhadra tells us that it was narrated as a tale (V 123), and not enacted as a play, but with minor changes the whole piece can be turned into a fine *Prahasana* of open satire.

The most astonishing thing about the *Dhūrtākhyāna* is not that it is satirical, nor that it is one of the rare pieces of the kind in early Indian literature, but that it should be so thoroughly modern both in thought and spirit, and such a master-piece of construction. Most of the Roman or the English satire is cast in the mould of a dream or an allegory. This makes it stilted and artificial. It is only in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Boccaccio's *Decameron* that an ingenious frame-work is used to impart an air of reality to the narration. The device of emboxing stories within a story is a common trait in most of the Indian sagas. Apart from this consideration, the frame-work of the *Dhūrtākhyāna* is certainly one of its notable features. The rogue-chiefs, each telling a fantastic story of his own and asking others to prove its truth or to accept defeat and give feast to rest of them, as they were all hungry during the rainy week and had run thither into the garden in order to manage to get food, afford the satire an amusing yet natural setting. The truth of their wonderful and wild stories is immediately proved by parallels from the *Bhārata*, *Rāmāyana* and *Purānas*. The last chief who is a female recounts a number of autobiographical incidents which are likewise regarded as credible. But then, all this still keeps the main problem unsolved! How are they to get food for themselves and for their retinue? Their female accomplice proposes that she would give them a feast only if they acknowledged her supremacy. This they would never accept. She then, continuing her narration, leads it to such a point that they have to recognize her suzerainty or give feast. Thus the woman is triumphant, and her wit and wisdom enable them all to satisfy their most immediate need of food. The impossible yarns concocted by the Rogues, the replies thereto, and above all the witty and surprising end of the story reveal its architectonic skill and the beauty of design. The *Dhūrtākhyāna* has a unity and compactness that can be distinctly felt, and except for the one or two obscene references and blunt outspokenness and crudity of *Khandapānā*'s experience, there is nothing superfluous or inartistic in the satire. Besides, its perfectly original structure is one of its highest distinctions, and sufficient by itself to proclaim the author's genius.

In speaking of the unity of the *Dhūrtākhyāna* it was the organic unity, therefore unity of form and spirit both, that was hinted at. Even though there is an indirect reference

in favour of Jainism at the close of the work (V 121-22), the satire as a whole is general, directed against credulity and superstition that deaden man's reasoning faculties and lead him away from the path of Truth. According to accepted critical standards, it is modern and not medieval, and it is more Horatian than Juvenalian. It is throughout rational and convincing. It shall be as well called good-humoured, as there is no deliberate attempt to distort or exaggerate facts or indulge in repeated rancour. The main point is that we should not be foolishly credulous and accept the mythological stories as literally true. As seen below, almost all the references to Purāṇas, etc., are traceable to their origins. The author is always implicit, and never vituperative in his criticism, and makes an intelligent use of dilemma, not only to prove or disprove things but also to give a witty air to everything that is ridiculed. Khandapānā's cornering and outwitting her male accomplices is a brilliant example of this device. The use of such dilemmatic situations has given a logical tone (quite inevitable and essential in the work of an outstanding logician like Haribhadra) and balance to the narration. Except for a few repetitions (elephant-pursuit, mating with Sun, Wind etc.), the story has the fullest variety with its strange, mysterious, awe-inspiring and terrible phantasies set in a realistic background and provided with a rollicking humorous close. Some of the descriptions, short or long, for instance that of the cemetery, are quite epical in style and make-up. The story element in the frame-work is comparatively slight, but has gained a remarkable poise because of Khandapānā's flashing victories over her partners and the banker whom she dupes by her superior intelligence and womanly wiles.

The precocious genius of the author¹, obvious in this unique work, indeed, provides a delightful field for researches in literary developments, and it is hoped that the publication of this edition of Dhūrtākhyāna will inspire others to unearth still richer treasures that lie buried in the literature of ancient India.

4 Sources of the Purāṇic Legends

Throughout the Dhū, in order to confirm the fantastic tale narrated by one Dhūrta, other Dhūrtas have presented a series of Epic and Purāṇic legends. It is necessary to study them, wherever possible, in comparison with the legends as preserved in present-day texts. Haribhadra is not very particular in mentioning his sources, specifying the work and its author. Usually he refers to them in general terms like Śruti, Purāṇa etc (I 14, 31, 35, 53, 89, II 27, 51, III 20, 53, 88, IV 15, 27, V 11, 64), Bhārata² and Rāmāyana, however, are repeatedly mentioned (I 14, 31, 35, 41, 82, 85, II 27, 62, III 20, 93, IV 14, 15, 19, V 60, 119), and there are single references to Viṣṇupurāṇa and

¹ Most of the works of Haribhadra are yet to be studied critically. The following are the chief sources where some points about this life, works and date are discussed. H. T. Sheth, *Haribhadrāsūri-caritraṃ* (in Sanskrit), Benares 1917. Śrī Kalyāṇavijayajī, Introduction (in Sanskrit) to the ed. of *Dharmasaṃgrahaṇī*, Devachandra L. P. Fund Series No. 42, Bombay 1918. Jinavijayajī, *Haribhadrāsūrikā Samayanirṇaya* (in Hindi), Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka, Vol. I, part 1, pp. 21-58, also his 'The Date of Haribhadrāsūri (in Sanskrit)', Poona 1919, his conclusion, based on sound proofs, is that Haribhadra should be assigned to A.D. 700-770. Becharadas Jivaraj, Introduction to his *Jaina Darśana* (in Gujarātī), Ahmedabad Samvat 1980. H. Jacob, Introduction (in English) to the ed. of *Samarāṅgacakāḥ*, B. I., Calcutta 1926, Jacob accepts 750 A.D. or later as the time of Haribhadra's literary activity, in his account of Haribhadra's life, he has scrutinised the traditional biographies and given a connected narration. K. V. Abhyankar, Intro. to his edition of the *Vimsativimśikā*, Poona.

² Haribhadra uniformly mentions Bhārata and never Mahābhārata.

Aranya-parvan (of the Bhārata) and also to Vyāsa, the author of Bhārata (II 27, II 31; I 41) Once Arthasāstra is casually mentioned (V 1) but not as a source In the following paragraphs are presented the Legends found in the Dhū, their sources traced by us, and critical remarks on the same in some cases

I *1* 37-38 FOUR VARNAS IN BRAHMAN'S BODY —Rgveda X 90 12, Mahābhārata, Āranyaka-parvan (critical ed), 187 13

I *2* 39-40 HARA'S MALE ORGAN —Vāyupurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed, 1905), chap. 55 23-38 —Verse 26 mentions that they tried to measure its limits for one thousand years.

I *3* 41-51 BIRTH OF KĪKAKAS (Bhārata of Vyāsa) —(?) —Haribhadra specifically mentions the Bhārata of Vyāsa as his source According to Mbh, Virāṭaparvan (critical ed), App I, p 313, passage No 19, Kekaya, a Sūta king, had from his wife Mālavi one hundred and six sons of whom Kīcaka was the most mighty and was appointed as the commander by the Virāṭa king This is all that we learn about their origin, and in this context the legendary details noted by Haribhadra are not found Kīcaka does mean a hollow bamboo

I *4* 52 GANGA FOILED IN HARA'S JAFĀ —Rāmāyana (Nirṇayasāgara ed 1921), Bālakāṇḍa, 43 9 —Haribhadra says *vāsa-saḥussam*, while in the Rāmā, we have *sam-vatsara-gaṇān bahūn*

I *5* 53-7 BIRTH OF BRAHMAN —Mbh, Āranyaka-parvan (critical ed), App I, pp 1084-5, passage No 27, especially ll 13-30 —There is some verbal agreement with the Mbh passage, but in this context it is not mentioned that Brahman came out with Danda etc and that the lotus was stuck, as noted by Haribhadra According to the Vāyupurāṇa, chap 55 14, Brahman is equipped with Kamandilu

I *6* 58-84 (i) TILOTTAMĀ RUINS BRAHMAN'S AUSTERITIES¹ (ii) BIRTH OF DRONĀCĀRYA, (iii) BIRTH OF SVIDA- AND RAKTA-KUNDALIN, (iv) KARNA BORN THROUGH THE EAR (Bhārata) —(i) Mbh Ādi (critical ed) 201 ff and Matsyapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed 1907), Adhyā, 3 31 f, (ii) Mbh Ādi (critical ed), 57 89, 121 3-5, 154, 1-5, (iii) Padmapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed 1894), Śrīstikhandi, Adhvā 14, (iv) (?) - (i) According to Ādi-parvan 201 ff, Visvakarman, at the instruction of Pitānaha (203 10-17), created Tilottamā, a veritable mine of jewels of beauty, for the destruction of Sunda and Upasurda She was called 'Tilottamā, because she was made from small portion of every kind of gem Mahādeva developed four faces to look at her as she went round (203 23-25) According to the Matsyapurāṇa, however, Brahman created Śatarūpī out of his body, and to look at her, he developed four faces (in four directions) with a fifth on the head This temptation ruined his austerities (ii) Haribhadra attributes Drona's birth and Paśupati and Umā, but according to Mbh it is attributed to Bhāradvāja and Gṛtācī, the circumstances being similar (iii) Though the names noted by Haribhadra are not given, the Padmapurāṇa narrates a story quite similar to this in the context of the earlier births of Arjuna and Karna Brahman produced a man from the perspiration of his forehead According to the Padma, Viṣṇu offered blood from his arm (iv) Karna is considered to be the *amśa* of the Sun by whom he was generated from Kuntī (Mbh Ādi, 57 82, 61 89), and his

¹ The legend is split up for referential convenience A story much similar to No 1, is found in the Bṛhat Kathākośi of Harīṣeṇa (Bombay 1943), chap 99

birth is described at length in the Ādī 104 But I do not find any reference to his being born from the ear The Mbh mentions, however, that he was born with the Kavaca

I *7*. 85-88 HANUMAT CROSSES THE OCEAN (Rāmāyana) —Rāmāyana, Sundara-kānda, Sarga 1, verses 27, 54, Sarga 2, verse 2, etc —The Rāmāyana gives a graphic description how Hanumat jumps (his long arms and the root *ṭ* being more than once mentioned) across the ocean The Sanskrit quotation put in the mouth of Hanumat I have not been able to spot in the Nīrṇayasāgara ed in this context

I *8*. 89-92 HARA RECEIVES GANGĀ ON HIS HEAD —Rāmāyana, Bālakānda, Sargas 42, 43 (verse 3 f), Mbh Āraṇyaka, 108 9 f, see also the remarks on I *4* 52 above —Mbh simply describes how Gangā was received by Hara, and there is no reference to her vanity as in the Rāmāyana

II *1*. 27-30 PRIMORDIAL EGG (Viṣṇupurāṇa¹) —Viṣṇupurāṇa, Wilson's Translation (London 1864), Book I, chap II, pp 39-40, Mbh Ādī (critical ed) 1 27 f, Matsyapurāṇa, 2 32 ff, Brahmapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed 1895), 1 40 f —This is described almost in every Purāṇa

II *2*. 31-39 THE WHOLE UNIVERSE IN A CHILD'S STOMACH (Araṇyaparvan) —Mbh, Āraṇyakaparvan, 186 —The details closely agree with a few common words even According to our text, it is the Sage that calls the Boy, but in the Mbh the Boy calls the Sage asking him to take shelter in his stomach (verses 88-9) The Mbh says that Mārkaṇḍeya was in the stomach of that Boy only for *varsānām adhikam śatam* (verse 110), but according to Haribhadra *divvam vāsa-sahassam* The Boy is none other than Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, as it is clear from the names like Śrīvatsadhārin, Pītavāsā, Puṇḍarikākṣa etc.

II *3*. 40-41 KEŚAVA IN DEVAKI'S WOMB —Bhāgavata (Nīrṇayasāgara ed) 10 7 34-36, also the references on II *2* 31-39 above —When Yaśodā was feeding Kṛṣṇa, she happened to see the whole universe in his mouth which he opened while yawning

II *4*. 42-50 BRAHMAN AND KEŚAVA —Compare Vāyupurāṇa, Adhyā 24, see also the references on I *5* 53-7 —A legend somewhat corresponding to Haribhadra's version is found in the Vāyu Brahman once approached Nārāyaṇa who was sleeping on the great serpent in the ocean and who had produced a dignified lotus out of his navel for his sport They do not recognise each other, and each one claims that he is the Ādikartā First Viṣṇu enters the stomach of Brahman and sees the whole universe there, but could not reach the end even after one thousand years, so he comes out of his mouth Then Brahman enters Viṣṇu's stomach and experiences the same When Viṣṇu closed the outlets of his body, Brahman assumed a subtle form, came out through the lotus stalk, and took his seat on the lotus There is some jealousy between the two, but it is quieted on Brahman being admitted as the *putra* of Viṣṇu (verses 57-53) born from his navel-lotus

II *5*. 51-61 THE MIGHTY BOW OF DRUPADA —Compare Mbh, Ādī (critical ed) 174 ff —The Ādī describes the bow as *dydham, anāyamyam* (176 9), *devadattam* (foot-note p 716, No 1809*), *saṃhanopapannam* (178 15) Is it that Haribhadra's Mbh

¹ The Sanskrit Text (verse No 102) mentions Bhārata also along with Viṣṇupurāṇa

² The Sanskrit Text (verse 106) mentions Araṇyapatha, a Śāstra, but I feel no doubt that Haribhadra is referring to a Parvan of that name in the Mbh.

text read 178 13 as an adjective of *kārmukam* in verse 15? Then alone the bow can be possessed of Nāgas etc. According to the Mbh, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma are present at the gathering but merely as spectators. Śiśupāla is humiliated, as noted by Haribhadra (foot-note being perhaps a misreading), but the passage concerned is found only in S (Sasipālo p 725, No 1828*) and not included in the critical text.

II *6* 62-74 HILL-LIKE JATĀYU (Rāmāyana) —Compare Rāmāyana, Aranyakāṇḍa, 50-53 —The opposition of Jatāyu when Rāvana carried Sītā, their mutual fight, Jatāyu wounded by the sword of Rāvana —all these events are described in the Aranyakāṇḍa. Further that dying Jatāyu gives all the details to Rāma, accompanied by Lakṣmana (Sarga 67), and dies in their presence. They perform the last rites (Sarga 68). According to Haribhadra, Sītā blesses Jatāyu that he would get wings after meeting Rāma's messenger, Hanumat, in his search for Sītā, meets Jatāyu who gives him all the details about her and who gets back his wings after meeting him but I see no proper context for these in the present text of the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki. Jatāyu is, however, qualified in the Rāmāyana as *parvata-śrngābhah* (50 2). The Mbh, Āranyaka (critical ed), 262-63, which gives this episode, describes Jatāyu thus *Jatāyur giri-gocarah* (262 41), *grdhram nihatam parvatopamam* (263 15).

III *1* 21-25 RENUKĀ REVIVED TO LIFE —Mbh, Āranyakaparvan (critical ed) 116 —That the tree respected her chastity is not specifically mentioned in the Mbh. The name of the king in the Mbh is Citraratha and not Asvāpilita as given by Haribhadra.

III *2* 26 CONSTITUTION OF JARĀSANDHA —Mbh, Sībhāparvan (Madras 1932), Adhyāya, 19 (verses 54-55), 20 (verses 1-7). His name is explained thus *Jarayā samdhito yasmāy Jarāsandho bhavatyayam*.

III *3* 27-37 SUNDA AND NISUNDA DESTROYED BY TILOTTAMĀ —Mbh, Ādi (critical ed), 201-4 —Upasunda of the Mbh is called Nisunda by Haribhadra, perhaps it is a contamination with Nikumbha, the name of the father of Sunda and Upasunda. According to Mbh, Tilottamā was created by Viśvakarman, at the instruction of Pitānaha, by putting together all that was beautiful in the three worlds. She was like Lakṣmī, and her body was a veritable mine of jewels (203 12-17). Haribhadra, however, says that she was created by taking bits from gods.

III *4* 38-44 HANUMAT PIECED TOGETHER —Compare Rāmāyana, Kiśkindhā-kāṇḍa, 66 8-28, also Uttara-, 35-36 —Hanumat's life in his childhood is given in the Rāmāyana according to which it is Indra that wounded him, while he jumped at the Sun, on the left chin where by he came to be known as Hanumān (66 24). The instruction of the mother that he should eat red fruits, her lamentation, smashing of his body by the Sun's kick, subsequent piecing together of the same, and the substitution of the chin —all these events, though referred to by Haribhadra, are not mentioned in the Rāmāyana in the above contexts.

III *5* 46-52 HANUMAT BRINGS WOUND-HEALING MEDICINE —Rāmāyana, Yuddhā-kāṇḍa, Sarga 101, also Sarga 74 (especially verse 70) and Sarga 50 —The details noted by Haribhadra are practically covered by the above contexts in the Rāmāyana.

III *6* 53-86 BIRTH OF MAHĀSENA —Compare Mbh, Āranyakaparvan (critical ed) 213-14, Brahmapurāṇa, Adhyā, 128 7-23, Matsyapurāṇa, chap 158 26f, Vāyu-

purāṇa, Chap 72—According to the Mbh, Svāhā, the daughter of Dakṣa, satisfied the passion of Agni by assuming the forms of the six wives of Saptarṣis (excepting Arundhatī, whose form she could not assume) She received the semen in hand, and with a desire that she should not be seen, she flew taking the form of a Garudī The semen was dropped in a golden pot six times, and therein was born Mahāsena with six heads etc He is also called Rudra's son, Rudra being identified with Agni (218 27f) and Svāhā with Umā (220 9) According to the Brahma- and the Matsya-purāṇa, Agni assumes the form of a parrot and approaches Śambhū and Umā Agni drops semen in the Kṛttikās and Kārtika was thus born Haribhadra plainly says *devā gabbh'uvaghāyam vicimtamti*, but the Sanskrit and Gujarātī versions indicate that gods wanted from Śiva and Umā a son who would destroy 'Iārakāsura Something like the legend which Haribhadra has in view is found in the Vāyupurāṇa The text of Vāyupurāṇa admits a sad confusion of various myths about Mahāsena, but it clearly says that Indra did not want any issue to be born from Śamkara and Umā, so he sent Agni to them¹ The concluding details are slightly different Seeing that the semen had fallen out of her body, Umā forced Agni to hold it in his stomach, he later sought the help of Gangā who delivered in a Himālayan valley, and a mighty son was born

III *7* 87-88 SUN AND MOON ECLIPSED BY RĀHU'S HEAD —Mbh?, Ādi (critical ed), 17 4-8 —The corresponding story in the Mbh runs thus The Sun and Moon reported to Viṣṇu that Rāhu, under the guise of a god, was just drinking nectar churned from the ocean Viṣṇu immediately cut his head which began eclipsing the Sun and Moon with enmity towards them

III *8* 89-91 VIṢṆU COVERS THE UNIVERSE BY THREE STEPS —Mbh, Āraṇyaka-parvan (critical ed), p 1086, App I, extract No 27, lines 66-81

III *9* 92 HANUMAT CARRIES THE DRONA MOUNTAIN WITH ALL ITS VEGETATION (Rāmāyana) —Rāmāyana, Yuddhakāṇḍa, Sarga 101 30-46, see also Sargas 50 and 74

III *10* 96-7 THE EARTH LIFTED BY VARAHA² —Mbh, Āraṇyakaparvan (critical ed), 187 11, also Brahmapurāṇa, chap 213 40-42

IV *1* 18 A DRUM FROM MĀSA PLANT —(?) —The details are too meagre to indicate the source

IV *2* 19-21 A RIVER OF ELEPHANT ICHOR (Bhārata) —(?) —This quotation can be traced only with the aid of the Verse Index of Mbh

IV *3* 22-4 BHĪMA AND BAKA (Bhārata, according to the Sanskrit Text) —Mbh, Ādi (critical ed), 145-152 —The critical edition describes the demon's share of food at 148 6, but more detailed descriptions of it are found in different recensions of the Mbh see Ādi (critical ed), p 942, passage Nos 91-92 Haribhadra's details are more than covered by them

¹ The relevant lines run thus अन्योन्यप्रीतिरनयोर्मांशं करयोरथ । श्लेष्ं ससक्तयोर्हत्वा शङ्कितं किल वृत्रहा ॥ ताभ्यां मैथुनसक्ताभ्यामपत्योद्भवमीरुणा । तयो सकाशमिन्द्रेण प्रेषितो हव्यवाहनः ॥ अनयो रतिविघ्नं च त्वमाचर हुताशन । सर्वत्र गत एव त्वं न दोषो विद्यते तदा ॥

² The Sanskrit Text does not include this legend

IV *4* 25-6 KUMBHAKARNA'S MEAL —Rāmāyana, Yuddhakāṇḍa, 60 (especially verses 32-33, 62-63, 91-92)

IV *5* 27 AGASTYA DRINKS THE OCEAN —Mbh , Āranyakaparvan (critical ed), 101 10, 102 18f , 103 1-10

IV *6* 28-29 GAṄGĀ DRUNK BY JAHNU —Rāmāyana, Bālakāṇḍa, 43 34-38 — The exact period of one thousand years, noted by Haribhadra, is not mentioned in this context by the Rāmā

IV *7* 31-87 THE MIGHTY GARUDA —Mbh Ādi (critical ed), 14-32 —These chapters practically cover all the details noted by Haribhadra There are, however, some points of specific difference The Mbh notes only two eggs (14 12) of Vinatā giving birth to Aruna and Garuda, while Dhū mentions one more egg which was impatiently opened first and which produced a scorpion Secondly, it is the mother, according to Mbh , that tells Garuda the whereabouts of the nectar and that asks him to eat Nisādas (24 2), but according to Haribhadra it is Kāśyapa, the father, that gives these instructions Thirdly, the Mbh does not connect the dropping of Vata tree with Lankā Lastly, Viṣṇu is quite partial to Garuda almost from the beginning in the Mbh (129 12f)

IV *8* 88 GOVARDHANA MOUNTAIN LIFTED BY KRṢṆA —Brahmapurāṇa, chap 188 14f , Bhāgavata (Nirnayasāgara ed), X 25 19

IV *9* 89-90 MONKEYS BROUGHT MOUNTAINS FOR THE SETU —Rāmāyana, Yuddhakāṇḍa, 22 (especially verses 50-60)

IV *10* 91-93 HANUMAT ROOTS OUT TREES IN THE PARK¹ —Rāmāyana, Sundarakāṇḍa, 41 (especially verses 10-21)

V *1* 11 BHĪMA AND HANUMAT GENERATED BY WIND —Mbh , Ādi (critical ed), 57 97, 61 84, Rāmāyana, Kiskindhākāṇḍa, 66 8-20 —According to Rāmā Hanumat's mother is called Añjanā and not Nīlā² Or is it that Haribhadra is paraphrasing *añjana* by *nīla*?

V *2* 12-18 BIRTH OF VYĀSA —Mbh , Ādi (critical ed), 57 55-74, 99-100, also the additional passage No 37 on p 895 —According to the Mbh , Vidura is born from a maid servant (100 23)³, and there is no reference to any curse on the three by Vyāsa

V *3* 23 KUNTI'S SON BY THE SUN —Mbh , Ādi , 57-82, see also the references and remarks on I *5* 58-84, para iv

V *4* 25-31 VOLUPTUOUS AGNI —(?) —According to the Mbh , Āranyaka (critical ed), 213, Agni was passionate for the wives of Saptarṣis, and with his mind upset with passion, he ran to the forest It is Svāhā, the daughter of Dakṣa, that satisfied his passion

¹ Here Haribhadra quotes a rhyming couplet (No 92) in Prākṛit which he calls Khamdao Though I could spot the necessary context, I do not find these lines in the Paumacarīya, 53 78 f

² The Sanskrit and Gujarātī Texts have Añjanā for Nīlā in this context, see verse No 336 and p 62 11

³ Hariṣeṇa gives, in his Bṛhat Kathākośa, 83, a story corresponding to Haribhadra's story Therein Śamtana or Śmtanu, has three sons, Citra, Vicitra and Citrāṅga, who leave behind three widows, Ambā, Ambikā and Bālikā (Ambālikā) from whom Vyāsa generates Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura respectively Haribhadra's phrase *bhāujayā tann* vi presumes such a story, see also story No 96 from the same

V *5* 33-37 (i) INDRA'S MISBEHAVIOUR WITH AHALYĀ, AND (ii) HIS SON FROM KUNTĪ —(i) Rāmāyana, Bālakānda, 48 15-28, Mbh , Anuśāsana (Bombay ed) 41, 21, also Brahmapurāṇa Adhyā 87 (ii) Mbh , Ādi (critical ed) 57 97 —According to Rāmā , Indra misbehaves with Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama who curses him to lose his testicles According to the Mbh , he has thousands of pores on his body as a result of the curse, and they were afterwards changed to eyes According to the Dhū , he was handed over to passionate pupils, but I do not find any such details in the above contexts The Brahmapurāṇa, however, tells us that Indra became a cat, but was cursed by Gautama to have thousand pores (*sahasra-bhagavān*) on his body When he prayed for mercy, he was blessed to be Sahasrākṣa

V *6* 59 See above I *2* 39-40 —The natural inference is that there could be a pretty long tail of a mouse

V *7* 60-63 THE LONG TAIL OF HANUMAT (Rāmāyana) —Rāmāyana, Sundarakānda, 53 (verses 5-8), 54

V *8* 64-69 (i) GANDHĀRIVARA CHANGED INTO KURABAKA, (ii) NAHUSA¹ BECOMES A BOA — (i) (?), (ii) Mbh , Āranyakaparvan (critical ed), 175-178, also App I, passages 19-20, pp 1065f —(i) It is not clear whether Gamdhārivara refers to Dhrtarāstra, (ii) The Mbh text has undoubtedly grown, and the present text shows more than seven questions

As distinguished from the above legends, the sources of which we have tried to trace, there are some casual references in the Dhū (I 62-4, V 114-18) to Purāṇic personalities and events Some of them are mere names, so some additional information may be noted here from second-hand sources²

Haribhadra expresses (once through the mouth of Indra) that Mahāvīra alone is an exception, and that all other so-called great personalities have been victims of cupidity and womanly temptations (I 64-4), or of passions in general (V ii) Gautama had a wife Ahalyā by name, at times, whenever taken as identical with Dīrghatamas, he is painted to be quite voluptuous —Vasīṣṭha had for his wives Ūrjā, Arundhatī etc , and he had one hundred sons —Parāśara, unmindful of place and time, fell in passionate love with Satya-vatī, the fisher-girl —Jamadagni demanded, from king Renu, Renukā in marriage, he had five sons from her, but he was a terrible suspicious husband —Kāśyapa had more than a dozen wives and a pretty large number of sons —Agastya once realized that his ancestors could not be rescued without his begetting a son Then he formed a girl out of the most graceful parts of different animals and passed her secretly into the palace of the king of Vīdarbha When the child grew up, he demanded her in marriage, somehow the king consented, and she became his wife Lopāmudrā To satisfy his wife, who had grown up in palace, he begged wealth from different kings —Indra selected Indrāṇī to be his wife because of her voluptuous attractions, he employed celestial nymphs to excite

¹ The Sanskrit text gives the name Nahuṣa, verse 385, but the Gujarātī one Naghuṣa, p 64 Is it that *hu* so is a wrong improvement on the original *nahuso*, being misread as *na hu so*?

² The following works are mainly used A Classical Dictionary of India by J Garret (Madras 1871) and its Supplement (Madras 1873), A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology etc by J Dowson (London 1879), Vedic Mythology by A A Macdonell (Strassburg 1897), Epic Mythology by E W Hopkins (Strassburg 1915), Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata etc by S Sørensen (London 1904-25), Bhāratavarṣiya caritrakośa by Chitrava (Poona 1932)

the passions of holy men, he is called *parastrīkāma-cārin*, a habitual adulterer, he tried to seduce Ruci, wife of Devaśarman, and his endeavour to seduce Ahalyā, wife of the sage Gautama, is well-known—Hara's attachment for Umā, who occupies half of his body, is often mentioned in the Purāṇa—Viṣṇu has his wife in Lakṣmī, and in his incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, he had 16000 wives, apart from his sports with Gopīs to whom he is so much attached (V 112-13)—Candra has twenty-seven wives, of whom Rohinī is the most favourite. He carried off Tārā, the wife of Brhaspati, from whom he had a son Budha by name—Vāyu generated Bhīma from Kuntī and Hanumat from Añjanā. The hundred daughters of Kuśanābha would not comply with his licentious desires, so he made them crooked in physique, and thus their city came to be called Kanyā-kulja—Yama-Dharma had several wives as Hemalatā etc. Dharma, one of the Prajāpatis, had married thirteen (or ten) of the daughters of Dakṣa, and had a numerous progeny. He generated Yudhiṣṭhira from Kuntī.

In conclusion, Haribhadra refers to a series of legends, particularly the births of Purāṇic personages (V 114-18), and summarily denounces them as unnatural and unworthy of any credence. Some of them, viz., the births of Brahman (I 53-7), Tilotamā (I 58-84, III 27-37), Drona (I 60-61), Sanmukha (III 53-86), and of Svedakundalin and Nara, i.e., Raktakundalin (I 58-84) are already referred to in the earlier discussion, and we have noted the relevant sources above. Some particulars about the rest may be added here. There is a legend that (Pavana-?) Gaṇapati originated from the scurf of Pārvatī's body—Uṛvasī was so named, because she was born from the thigh—Nalakūba and Maṇigrīva were excessively drunk and sporting in a nude condition in the river Ganges. When Nārada came there, the ladies clothed themselves, but these two remained naked. Nārada was offended, and cursed them to become trees for one hundred years. They were relieved by the contact of Kṛṣṇa who pulled the mortar, to which he was tied by his mother, through the interspace between the pair of Arjuna trees in which they were transformed—Vasudeva and Devakī were in the prison of Kūṁsa, and it is there that Devakī conceived Balarāma. But in the seventh month, through the mediation of Māyā, the embryo was transferred to the body of Rohinī who was staying at Gokula. This Balarāma of the Yādava race is considered to be an *amśa* of Śeṣa—Pārvatī is the daughter of Himālaya and Menā.

The success of Haribhadra's performance depends primarily, if not entirely, on the intellectual integrity and fidelity with which he has presented the Purāṇic legends that are being satirised. We can start *prima facie* that he would not dare to change the popular, mythological stories, at least their fundamentals, current in his locality and at his time, for, if he were to do so, he would be cutting the very ground under his feet, and his work would fall in the estimation of his contemporaries to whose gathering it has been already narrated at Cītiakūta (V 123).

On the whole, we have been fairly successful in tracing the counterparts of the legends, quoted by Haribhadra, to their sources available today. Haribhadra is not actually quoting in the very words of the original, but he is rewriting the legends in his words and mostly from memory. Naturally we will have to make ample concession for omissions and minor variations in expression and presentation. In some cases, Haribhadra's legends, when studied in comparison with those in the present-day texts, show differences in details. Their significance depends upon their position in the story and on their relative bearing for the purpose of denunciation. Some divergences are of minor significance for instance,

the names of the parents of Drona (I *6*), whether the Sage called the Boy or *vice versa* (II *2*), whether Renukā's chastity was respected by plants (III *1*), whether Upasunda or Nisunda is the name (III *3*), whether Vinatā laid two eggs or three (IV *7*); whether Yudhisthira asked the boa seven questions or more (V *8*), etc. Such differences do not affect the chief idea that is selected as the target for the satirical shaft. There are other differences of major significance for instance, whether, according to the Purāṇic legend, Kicakas were accommodated in and born from bamboo-hollows (I *3*), whether the lotus was caught stuck at Viṣṇu's navel (I *5*), whether Karṇa was born through the ear (I *6*), whether Dīupada's bow is described in the epic to contain Nāgas etc (II *5*), whether Hanumat climbed the mountain-like Jaṭāyu (II, *6*), etc. If these events have no basis in the Purāṇic stories, the very edge of Haribhadra's criticism is blunted, and his denunciation of Purāṇic legends becomes impertinent.

Before we raise the question, whether Haribhadra has really taken liberty with some of the legends, we have to remember that our epics and Purāṇas have not come down to us exactly in the same form in which they were current at the time of Haribhadra. Their texts have been subjected to so many vicissitudes in different localities and for centuries together that the authenticity of every episode, nay of every passage, is to be judged on its own merits. This is fully demonstrated by the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. The condition of the text-tradition of the Purāṇas is much worse. They present such an indiscriminate fusion of text-tradition and such a bewildering medley of myths that the wits of a text-critic would be completely stunned. Very good results have been achieved by the study of Mbh. Mss., and the late lamented Dr V. S. Sukthankar has brilliantly sketched the pros and cons of the text-variation in the Mbh. in his following observations¹: 'All the difficulties in the explanation of this phenomenal variation vanish, however, as soon as we assume that the epic was handed down from bard to bard originally by *word of mouth*, as is clearly implied by tradition. That would explain, without any strain or violence, the existence of the mass of variants, of differences in sequence and of additions and omissions. If the text has been preserved, for any considerable period of time, only in memory and handed down by word of mouth, those are just the changes that could not possibly be avoided. It is evident that no great care would be lavished on the text by these custodians of the tradition to guard it against corruption and elaboration, or against arbitrary emendation and normalization to reproduce the received text, which was not guarded by canonical authority or religious sanction, with any degree of precision would be neither attempted by the bards nor required of them. Whenever and wherever the text was then written down—and it was probably written down *independently* in different epochs and under different circumstances—these transmissions by word of mouth must have contaminated the written text and innumerable variations in it. The assumption of some such complicated derangement, beyond the normal vicissitudes of transmission, is necessary to account for the abnormal discrepancies and strange vagaries of the Mahābhārata manuscript tradition. In other words, we are compelled to assume that even in its early phases the Mahābhārata textual tradition must have been not uniform and simple, but multiple and polygenous'. In another context Dr V. S. Sukthankar has observed thus with regard to citations, and what is true about them nearly holds good with regard to legends and their contents²: 'Then in the case of citations we must allow for

¹ The Ādiparvan, Poona 1933, Prolegomena, p. 79

² Prolegomena, p. 29

failures of memory, and the quotation was never compared with the original. Moreover we must never forget that probably from time immemorial there have existed local versions of the Mahābhārata. The citations made even by very old writers were from these *local* versions. A citation by a writer of the eighth century or even the sixth century proves nothing for the Ur-Mahābhārata, that ideal but impossible desideratum, though the citation is far older than our manuscripts, it is evidence only for the text of the *local* Mahābhārata in the eighth, respectively in the sixth century, notwithstanding that the differences between the various recensions and versions of the Mahābhārata must diminish as we go back further and further.

No doubt there must have been Mss. of the epics and Purāṇas (III 53) in the days of Haribhadra, but generally the narratives were heard from the mouth of rhapsodists. That they were handed down by word of mouth, as suggested by Sukthankar, is to a very great extent confirmed by the fact that, whenever Haribhadra appeals to the authority of Purāṇas etc., he uses almost uniformly terms like *śruvati*, *śuam*, etc. (I 35, 41, II 27, 31, 61, III 27, 38, 53, 66, 93, IV 19, 27, V 11, 33, 37, 60, 64, 112, 114, etc.). It is not unlikely, therefore, that some discrepancies in the details, whether minor or major, might go back to the traditional narration which was recited round about Citrakūṭa at the time of Haribhadra, and we can hardly hope to trace the same necessarily in the present-day texts. It is equally possible, in some cases where Haribhadra's statements show deviation from the sources, that he is criticising the legends which passed as such according to the tradition from which he got them. One cannot be dogmatic on one or the other explanation, because the sources, so far tapped, are comparatively limited. Further, when legends are quoted from memory, contamination, confusion and variation in details are inevitable. The very fact that most of the legends or their nearest counterparts we have been able to trace to their sources clearly indicates that Haribhadra did not want to put forth imaginary legends and then to condemn them. Though it is quite plain, it may be noted that the sources recorded by us do not indicate that all those works are necessarily older than Haribhadra, but it only means that those legends belong to a period earlier than that of Haribhadra. He mentions only three works, by name, Bhārata, Rāmāyana and Viṣṇu-purāṇa, and all other sources are our suggestions.

At times there is no agreement even among the Purāṇic legends. For instance, according to one version, Agni was sent by gods to Śiva and Umā for a mighty son who can destroy Tārakāsura, while, according to another version, though less popular, he was sent by Indra to prevent Umā from conceiving a child. Haribhadra narrates clearly the latter version, though the Sanskrit and Gujarātī versions of the Dhū, read there, wrongly of course, the popular legend. The legend given by Haribhadra has its place in the present-day Vāyupurāṇa, as noted above. It is interesting to note that, in some cases (I *5*, II *5*, IV *3*), the details of the legends are more specifically traced in the additional passages recorded in the foot-notes and Appendix of the critical edition of the Mbh. That only means, the recension of the Mbh. which reached Haribhadra's ears was more inflated than our critical text which is constituted according to well-established and judiciously evolved canons of text criticism based on the available Mss.

Some of the legends quoted by Haribhadra appear to have been pieced together from different sources, even with mutual contamination (I *6*, III *3*). It is creditable to Haribhadra that the number of such cases is quite small. This is inevitable in those days when one had to depend mainly on memory, which was a storehouse of all traditional lore, and not on books, as we do today.

Among the legends, the sources of which Haribhadra has clearly mentioned, some are found in the present-day texts with substantial agreement in details (I *7*, II *1*, *2*, III *9* V *7*), but in three cases (I *3*, *6*, II *6*), though the sources are given as Bhārata and Rāmāyana, we do not find any passages in the present-day texts to support Haribhadra. That Karna was born from Kuntī's ear is a common story, quite popular even to this day, though not found in the Mbh, and it is not surprising, if it was current in the days of Haribhadra too. First, *karna* means the ear, and popular etymology would certainly weave out such a story, secondly, there is as well as psychological motive, namely, by Karna's birth through the ear Kuntī's virginity remains intact, his generation by Sūrya being after all miraculous, nay supernatural. Though Mbh makes no mention of such a legend, I think, the birth of Kīcakas from *kīcakas* or bamboo-hollows is similarly based on popular etymology, such a legend might have been current in the days of Haribhadra, and it is quite in tune with a host of legends in the epics and Purāṇas with which the 'miraculous germination of the semen into human beings' is a regular 'apparatus for the generation of the great men of the past about whose birth nothing exciting was specially known to the chronicler'. Coming to the episode of Jātāyu, the epics do mention the mountain-like shape of Jātāyu, and thereby Haribhadra's purpose is served. But the details of the story cannot be fitted in the present mould of Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. Haribhadra is quoting a Sanskrit verse¹ in that context, and it would indicate that he has some definite source before him.

My observations on the sources of Haribhadra's legends, I am quite aware, are tentative, and I hope that those scholars, who have better library facilities at their disposal and who have a closer study of the Purāṇas, would try to shed more light on this topic.

5 Sanskrit and Gujarati Dhurtakhyanas

The Sanskrit version of the Dhūrtākhyāna, included in this edition, is extracted from the Tattvakaumudī² which is a Vivarana or Vṛtti by Sanghatilaka on the Samyaktvasaptatikā³, attributed to Haribhadra⁴ himself. The *prāśasti* of the Vṛtti⁵ gives a good

¹ The Sanskrit and Gujarati Versions do not give this quotation.

² This is published by the Devachandra Lālabhai Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, No 35, Bombay 1916. This copy reached my hands rather late, so some details I have noted in the foot-notes.

³ This Sk Dhūrtākhyāna forms a part of the commentary on verse No 12 which runs thus मोहिज्जइ मंदमई कुविट्ठिवयणोहिं गुविल्लदेहिं । दूरेण वज्जियन्वा तेण इमे सुद्धबुद्धीहिं ॥ १२ ॥ The story is introduced with this remark एतदर्थसत्यापनायै वैश्रमण्येच्छिष्टान्तो मूलदेवादपञ्चधूर्तस्वोपलक्षितः प्रतन्यते, तथाहि—समस्ति etc. At the close there are 28 verses more than what is printed here, they have nothing to do with Dhū proper. They tell us that Vaiśramana, by hearing all this from Sūstīta, developed firm Samyaktva. He accepted the vows of a householder. His wife also accepted *ratna-traya-dharma*. Even when his wife was troubled by a Vyantari, Vaiśramana's faith in Jina was unshaken. In due course he attained liberation. The concluding portion runs thus इत्थं वैश्रमणस्य चारु चरितं श्रुत्वाश्रुतिप्रीणकं, मामायणभारतश्रुतिभवेर्वाक्यैर्विचाराक्षमै । मालिन्यं नयतातिनिर्मलतमं सदृशनं पावनं, येन स्युर्भवतां जिनागमविदां शर्मश्रिय सुस्थिराः ॥ ४५५ ॥ [इति] कुदर्शनवर्जनविषये वैश्रमणकथा ॥ This edition of the commentary does not give any chapter headings or endings. Sanghatilaka does not appear to have mentioned either Haribhadra or the name of the work, Dhūrtākhyāna.

⁴ Jaina Granthāvali, p 191.

⁵ Peterson Reports I, pp 92-4, Reports III, Index of Authors, p 124, also the *Prāśasti* in the above edition, p 237.

bit of information about Saṅghatīlaka and his predecessors in the ascetic line. It opens with the glorification of Candragaccha which belonged to the following teachers: Vardhamāna, Jineśvara, Abhayadeva I (*rangan navāṅgi-mahāvrtti-Stambhana-Pārsvanātha-jinarāt-mūrti-prakāśaikakrt* the author of the commentaries on the nine Angas, [who became a Sūri in Samvat 1088 or 1031 A D])¹, Jinavallabha, Jinaśekhara, Padmacandra, Vijayacandra, Abhayadeva II (from whom started the Rudrapalliya-gacchah) Devabhadra, Prabhānanda, Śricandra and Vimalacandra, Guṇaśekhara and lastly Saṅghatīlaka, the author of Tattvakaumudī. Saṅghatīlaka had his *vidyā-guru* in Jinaprabha² whose erudition had pleased, Sāhi Mahammada at Dhilli³. He composed the Vrtti at the request of Devendra who was an *anuja* of Somatīlaka, an eminent pupil of Saṅghatīlaka himself. It was composed at Sārasvatapattana (Pātana?) [and finished] during Dīpotsava (i.e., October-November) in the year 1422 (*śrīmad-Vikrama-vatsare dvī-nayanāmbhodhi-kṣa-pākṛt prame*) of the Vikrama era, i.e., -57=1365 A D.

This Sanskrit Dhūrtākhyāna is neither a Chāyā nor a literal and studious metrical rendering or paraphrase of the Prākṛit original, though it is solely based on it. Saṅghatīlaka, there is not the least doubt, has the Prākṛit text of Haribhadra before him, he is trying to present its contents, in simple Sanskrit verses, with sufficient closeness and strictly adhering to the same sequences of narration, and he attempts to include most of the ideas from the original, at times in identical expressions (Pk I 76, Sk 66 etc.). He is more after narrating the story with as few secondary details as possible. Whenever there are lengthy descriptions in the Prākṛit text, he either summarises them or adds his own with a bit of independence. It may be that even metrical exigencies have frustrated his attempts to be more close and literal in his rendering. Sometimes he expresses the original with remarkable compactness (verses 82, 103, etc.) and in a few cases with elegance and beauty (125, etc.). He shows that he is fairly acquainted with the details of Purāṇic mythology: the proper names are freely substituted by other synonyms (Svāmin=Skandī, Mahāsena=Sanmukha, etc.), once an additional source, Bhārata (102) is rightly added, and sometimes are added supplementary details, such as, the names Dhūmornā and Nahusa (verses 351, 385) and the birth of Kārtikeya for the destruction of Tārakāsura (204 f). Sometimes his references to the sources are not quite to the point (169) and in one place (106) it is a bit obscure.

Perhaps a verse between Nos 86⁴ and 87 is missing. Possibly in his zeal of summarising the story, Saṅghatīlaka skips over certain portions of the Prākṛit text, viz., I 30-4, V 115 f. The contents of some verses, for instance, III 83, V 80, are not fully covered: the latter, it may be noted, presents some difficulties of interpretation. The legend of Varāha lifting the earth (III *10*) is missed by him, somewhere between verses 236-38. As to the quotations in the original, it appears that the author wants to present his text purely in Sanskrit: some of the Prākṛit quotations (II 50, III 67) are nicely rendered into Sanskrit (125, 215), some of those in Sanskrit are duly reproduced, but it is difficult to say why some (II 73, IV 92, V 4, 5, 103) are skipped over without any trace.

¹ Peterson Reports IV, p. 14

² Peterson Reports IV, Index of Authors, pp. 37-8

³ This king is apparently Muhammad Tughluq (1325-1351 A D) of Delhi. For a detailed biography of Jinaprabhasūri, see the Intro. by Nahtā to the Vidhimārgaprapā, ed. Jinavijayaji, Bombay 1941.

⁴ On comparing with the ed. of the commentary, I find an additional verse which runs thus:

तस्य मध्ये महाकाय सञ्छायो वटपादप । कमलाख्यो महायक्षस्तन्मूलमधितिष्ठति ॥ [८६*१] ॥

More than once Sanghatilaka not only shows difference in ideas but also adds new ideas, when compared with the Prākṛit original (see for instance Nos 21*d*, 23*d*, 159*b*, 161*d*, 199*d*, 204*b*, 239*d*, 242*d*, 243*d*, 316*ab*, 409*d*, 416*d*, etc.) Some of these are apt similes, quite creditable to any poet

There are many places where one can easily take exception to Sanghatilaka's rendering of the original *lhasiya-celam* (I 60)=*dūsita-vāsasam* (52), *seam* (I. 74)=*śesam* (64), *Sea-kumḍalī nāma*¹ (I 75)=*Sitakundali-nāmā* (65), *namūna Jinavarimdam* (II 24)=*nrpatim natvā* (99)², *phuttam du-bhāgaṇāyam* (II 29)=*trividhatām agamat* (104), etc. His statement that the progeny of Gauri and Śamkara was required for destroying Tāraka (203-4), though quite in agreement with a Purāṇic tradition, is contradictory to the explicit statement of Haribhadra (III 55) who follows a slightly different tradition³

On account of its being a part of the commentary, the opening and concluding portions of the Sanskrit Dhūrtākhyāna do not give it an appearance of a self-sufficient unit. More than once, it comes to our help in clearly understanding the Prākṛit text of Haribhadra⁴

The Dhūrtākhyāna in Old-Gujarātī, included in this edition, mentions at its close that it was written (*lisitam*) or copied by Pt. Laksmikīrti, the pupil of Ratnasundaragani of the Jinamānikya-śākhā of the Kharatara-gaccha at Udaipura in Samvat 1758 (-57=1701 A.D.), Kārtika Śukla, 12, Saturday. The word *lisitam* should ordinarily mean 'copied', so this proof is not enough to infer that Laksmikīrti is the author of this Gujarātī work. In fact, we do not know the name of its author, and all that we can say about him is this much: he flourished earlier than 1701 A.D., he had realised that the Dhūrtākhyāna was an effective attack against the Purāṇic religion and the Purāṇas, and he wrote the tales, from the Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra, in the *loka-bhāsā*, that they might be intelligible to laymen (*bālāvabodha-rūpāḥ kathāḥ*)

The author's primary aim is to narrate the stories included by Haribhadra in his Dhū. He closely follows the Prākṛit text, and mainly concentrates his attention on narrating the stories, ignoring the mosaic descriptions of Haribhadra and spicy similes of Sanghatilaka. At times his rendering is quite literal. To make the narration effective, he amplifies the original by additional remarks (p. 49, ll. 19, 22-3, p. 60, ll. 5-6, p. 64, ll. 21-23, etc.). Some verses in the Prākṛit (III 83, V 80) are not duly covered, and some details (V 115 f) are disposed off summarily. Partly agreeing with Sanghatilaka, some quotations are not included (II 73, IV 92, V 4, 5, 18, 103). Somehow I 87* 1 is quoted with some different readings.

There is not the least doubt that the author is mainly following the Prākṛit text. His Gujarātī rendering, as a rule and throughout the work, agrees more with Prākṛit original than with the Sanskrit version of Sanghatilaka, two quotations (II 50, III 67) which are rendered into Sanskrit by Sanghatilaka, are quoted in Prākṛit, as in the original, by our

¹ The Gujarātī text reads *Śvetakundalī nāmi*

² In this particular case, as required by the context, Sanghatilaka appears to have had before him a reading like *namūna naravarimdam* because Jina is not at all introduced in the earlier part of the story. The presiding deity is a Yakṣa. The Gujarātī text also says *rājāṇe pranamī*

³ See III *6* above

⁴ In continuation of what my friend Dr. A. M. Ghatage has said (New Indian Antiquary, I, 5, August 1938), I might record here that Sanghatilaka uses the form *mutkalāpya* (334, 394), gerundive from the root *mutkalāp*, and it stands once for *āucchūna*, 'having taken leave' (V 9) and once for *pucchum*, 'having taken permission' (V 74) in the original Prākṛit

author (pp 54, 57), and one legend, III *10*, omitted by the Sk text, is duly given by him (p 58) Though the Prākṛit text is mainly and closely followed, there is sufficient proof to indicate that he has consulted the Sanskrit text of Sanghatilaka Many points and remarks, which are not found in the Prākṛit but are present in the Sanskrit text, are seen in this Gujarātī version At I 35 Haribhadra has *Bhārahe purāṇe a*, Sanghatilaka has in the corresponding passage (29) *Śrī-Rāmāyana-Bhārate*, and the Guja text has *Bhārata Rāmāyanādika gramīhe* (p 50, I 24) This is perhaps the only reference, in the first two chapters, indicating explicitly the influence of the Sk text From the third chap onwards we see more of this influence, and even some phrases here and there remind us of the Sk text Pk *dhāuvvāya-pisāena* (III 1), Sk *dhātuvāddāyair vyasanaiḥ* (150), Guj *dhātuvāddārika vyasanai* (p 55), Pk no specific number, Sk *stenāḥ pañca śatīmitāḥ* (159), Guj *pāmca sai caura* (p 56), etc¹ Then in describing the origin of Skanda (p 57) to destroy Tārakāsura, the Gujarātī version closely follows the Sk text, so also in supplying the names of Dhūmorṇā Nahuṣa, etc Thus the writer of the Guj Dhūrtākhyāna has used Sanghatilaka's work here and there

The author claims that these stories are being written in *loka-bhāṣā* which means the popular language (current, say roughly, in Northern Gujarāta, sometime before 1701 A D) as distinguished from the literary languages like Sanskrit, Prākṛit and even Apabhramśa The author, it is clear, is well-versed in Prākṛit and Sanskrit, and inevitably the large sprinkling of Sanskrit words, seen in these stories, is due more to the author's command over Sk vocabulary than to the actual usage of the contemporary *loka-bhāṣā* This inference is quite natural when we look at the percentage of pure Sanskrit words in any modern Indian language as used by a Śāstrin, or even an educated man, and an illiterate villager Loan words are an unsafe evidence in understanding the essential grammatic structure of any *loka-bhāṣā*, because they can be easily grafted anywhere, and it is all the more true in the case of religious books whose topics were usually described in Sanskrit terms So the *loka-bhāṣā*, or Old-Gujarātī, in which our author wrote could not have contained so many Sk words, and we should study its nature by taking into account declensional forms, verbal formations, particles etc An exhaustive study of the language cannot be attempted here, but I would simply note a few formations which are interesting to a student of Apabhramśa and post-Apabhramśa stages especially in Rājasthāna and Gujarāta Nominal forms *joyana*, *thāma* 'a place', *tarasī* 'thirst', *pāyaka* 'a foot-soldier', *be strīu*, *bhojāio* (Pk *bhāujjāyā*), *māchinī* 'a fisher woman', *rātā phala* 'red fruits' Pronominal forms *tum*, *mugha*, *hum* (also *hume*) etc Particles *jma*, *pina* 'also, but', *v l panī* (p 50, l 11, footnote 13), *ma*, *hethāi*, *hethi*, *v l*, *hethum* Verbal forms *ūpanā*, *kahau*, *chai*, *joum*, *jovai*, *dājhato*, *panthum*, *paisūn parai*, *paranai*, *bīha*, *bhāgo*, *mūo*, *mokalajyo*, *lāgo*, *sakai*, *humto*, etc²

The above illustrations are picked up at random, and there is no pretension to an exhaustive study Apart from the large number of Sanskrit loan words, this *loka-bhāṣā* shows many words used in Prākṛits, and some of the particles are the same as those in Apabhramśa The pronouns and verbal formations of the Apabh stage have undergone a great deal of change which is natural and unavoidable in the evolution of spoken languages

¹ Compare Sanskrit verses 231, 236, 262 with the corresponding Gujarātī portions

² It is interesting to compare these forms with those recorded in the Index of A Study of the Gujarātī Language by T N Dave, London 1935 The prose commentary in Old Gujarātī (on the Upadeśamālā) on which Dr Dave's study is based is called Bālābhodha, and it may be noted that the Gujarātī version of the Dhū, also bears the same name

Some changes are just a matter of shifting pronunciation *kahai* > *kahau*, *dajjhamto* > *dājhato*, *mokkalyjyā* > *mokalayyo*, *sakkai* > *sakai*, etc. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are more lucky than any other modern Indian language because of their rich heritage of earlier stages of the language, and a careful study of the texts, from century to century, would certainly demonstrate the evolution of these languages through Prākṛit, Apabhramśa and post-Apabh stages of the Middle Indo-Aryan.

The Sanskrit and Gujarātī Dhūrtākhyānas cannot be judged as original contributions like their Prākṛit counterpart, they definitely indicate, however, that the performance of Haribhadra did appeal to subsequent generations, and, as they stand today, they are useful aids to understand and check the Prākṛit text of Haribhadra.

6 Dhurtakhyana and Dharma-Pariksa

We come across a pretty large number of works called Dharma-parikṣā (Dp) ¹ Most of them are not critically examined as yet. It is Amitagatī's Dp that has been exhaustively studied,² and it can be accepted as a representative of Dp texts for all practical purposes. Vṛttavilāsa, Padmasāgara and others have mechanically followed Amitagatī's Dp. By the discovery of Harisena's Dp (Samvat 1044,-56=A.D. 988), which was written 26 years earlier than that of Amitagatī (Samvat 1070,-56=A.D. 1014), it is clear now that Amitagatī is not the creator of the plot of Dp. Amitagatī tells us that he composed his work in two months³ no doubt, he is a gifted didactic poet with a flowing Sanskrit style, but he does not mention his predecessors. Harisena, however, frankly says that the Dp which was formerly composed by Jayarāma in Gāthā metre is now composed by him in Paddhadiyā metre. Unfortunately Jayarāma's Dp has not come to light so far. Harisena's Dp is in Apabhramśa, there is no conclusive evidence to establish that Amitagatī solely followed Harisena, the plot of the story, adopted by both Harisena and Amitagatī, is remarkably identical, what Harisena says would indicate that almost all his material was present in Jayarāma's Dp, and Amitagatī's Sanskrit expression betrays Prākṛitisms in narrative portions. All these facts go to indicate that Jayarāma's work was in Gāthā metre, the language being Śauraseni or Māhārāṣṭrī and for the present we might presume that the plot of Dp owes its birth to Jayarāma.

Comparing the works of Harisena and Amitagatī one finds that, so far as the events of the plot and their sequence are concerned, both of them are in close agreement. This indicates that Amitagatī has not taken much liberty with the structure of the plot. Harisena's text is not available in print, so I give below the analysis of the narrative structure⁴.

¹ See my paper 'Harisena's Dharma-parikṣā in Apabhramśa' in the Silver Jubilee Number, Annals of the B. O. R. I., Vol. XXIII, pp. 592-608.

² N. Mironow Die Dharma-parikṣā des Amitagatī, Leipzig 1903.

³ The Sanskrit text with Hindi translation has been published by Pannalal Bakaliwal, Bombay 1901, another edition giving the Marāṭhī translation of Pt. Bahubali Sharma has appeared lately, Sangli 1931. One feels the necessity of a critical edition of Amitagatī's text.

⁴ Mironow follows the rule 'divide et impera' and presents the summaries of various stories separately. The method is admirable and quite suited for studying the stories. But the analysis of disjointed stories does not clearly bring out the effect of entire work, especially of the fantastic tales and the bearing of subsequent legends on their points. Just to bring out this aspect of Dp clearly, I have added here a bit detailed summary. Those who want more particulars about individual stories may either consult the original Sk. text or Mironow's dissertation.

of Amitagati's Dp which would enable us to compare and contrast the two works, Dhū and Dp

In Jambūdvīpa, on the southern range of Vijayārdha, in the town named Vaijyanti there lived a Vidyādhara king Jitaśatru and his queen Vāyuvagā who had a son Manovega endowed with faith in Jina's doctrines. His friend Pavanavega, prince of Priyāpurī, had no such faith, and he was much worried on that account. Once returning from his visit to Jina-temples, his *vimāna* stopped at Ujjainī, in Mālava, and in its northern park there was an omniscient monk, Jinamatī, on whom he waited with reverence. Jinamatī expounded to the audience the proportion of pleasure and pain in *samsāra* with the explanation of *madhu-bindu-dṛṣṭānta* and the consequences of religious and irreligious life. Manovega asked Jinamatī whether his friend Pavanavega would possess *samyaktva*, and he got a reply that he could enlighten his friend by taking him to Pāṭaliputra. Pavanavega was anxious to meet his friend Manovega whom he met on the way to the joy of both. Manovega told him how he visited various Jaina holy places and came to Pāṭaliputra, a prosperous centre of Brahmanic ritual and learning. Pavanavega expresses his impatience to visit Pāṭaliputra, and next morning both of them reached there and got down in the park.

I Both of them, though decked with ornaments, assumed the form of faggot-grass sellers. It was a surprising sight to one and all who began to speculate about them. They reached the Brahma-sālā, bet the drum, and sat on the golden seat. At this challenge Brāhmanas rushed forth for dispute. They wondered at their splendour and grace and almost mistook them for gods. On being pointedly questioned, Manovega, requesting them not to be irritated, told them that all that they did was out of mere curiosity and that they were mere grass-selling boys whose prototypes were found in Bhārata stories. One Brāhmana asked 'How can there be grass-faggot-sellers decorated with jewels? If such cases are found in the Rāmāyana and Bhārata, we would like to hear them.' Manovega said that he would explain everything, if there are any thoughtful (*vicāṇaka*) among them, otherwise his fate would be like that of Madhukara who received 16 strokes for telling the truth about the heaps of pepper and grains in different parts of the country. The leader assured him that they were all thoughtful Brāhmanas. Further Manovega told them that he feared to speak, if any of them belonged to the following ten types of men (about whom ten stories are narrated) (1) *rakta*, a passionate husband duped by his younger wife, (2) *dvīṣṭa*, who wants his son to take revenge on his enemy by using his dead body, (3) *mūḍha*, a silly priest outwitted by his unchaste wife and pupil, (4) *vyudgrāhin*, a blind block-head prince, (5) *pitṭa-dūṣṭa*, a bilious fellow mistaking sweet as sour, (6) *cūṭa*, a wreckless king who pulled out the mango tree, (7) *ksīra*, a foolish Tomara chief who ill-treated a milch cow, (8) *aguru*, an ignorant who could not understand the value of *aguru* plantation, (9) *candana*, a washerman incapable of recognising sandal, and (10) *bālīśa*. Four fools, once upon a time, saluted a Jaina saint, endowed with various religious and ascetic virtues, who uttered the blessing '*dharma-vrddhu*'. They began to quarrel as to whom it was meant for, and when they asked the monk, he told them that it was meant for him who was decided to be the most foolish by the wise people of the town after hearing their biographies. (10a) Visameksana narrated thus 'One day I was sleeping with my two wives on both sides. Just for joke, I placed the lamp on my forehead. A mischievous rat pulled the burning wick, and one of my eyes was scorched. Afraid of disturbing my wives, I allowed my eye to be burnt'. (10b) Kuntahamsagat spoke thus 'Rksī and Khari are my most ugly wives, their mutual jealous abuse and

quarrel made me lose both my legs, and being afraid of them, I tolerated all this' (10c) Bota (or Boda) said thus 'I had been to my father-in-law At night, I had a bet with my wife that one who speaks first should give a rich feast A thief entered the house and collected all the treasure He began stripping my wife of her clothes on the body I kept quiet She began to abuse me at the loss of wealth and at her insult I at once told her that she lost the game by speaking first, and she should give the feast now' (10d) Gallasphotika told his tale thus 'I had gone to the house of my father-in-law Out of bashfulness and seeing some hedious sight, I did not take my meals As time passed, I was overpowered by hunger I was just gulping a handful of fine rice kept in a basket below the cot when my wife came there, and I could not swallow them My mouth was full to the brim, I could not speak, and my cheeks grew hard There was a great row, and different explanations were offered about my disease A skilful physician diagnosed my trouble, calling it *tanduliya* ailment, he quietly bored my cheeks and took out rice particles Thus I made myself an object of ridicule' After hearing these tales, the Brāhmanas assured Manovega that none from them belonged to any of the ten types and that he should answer their question Manovega spoke thus 'Visnu is a mighty divinity, full of glory, grace and power, then how is it that he stayed as a cowherd-boy at Gokula sporting in various ways, that he became a messenger of Pāṇdavas and a charioteer of Arjuna, that he begged at Bali's door, and that he suffered from Sītā's separation? If that divine Visnu could do mean acts, what is wrong in our selling grass and faggots? The Brāhmanas felt disillusioned, and they could see how god Visnu was exposed to so many blemishes and inconsistencies, and how Purāṇas were full of contradictions

11 Second time Manovega became a rough hunter, and his friend, a cat without ears, put in a pot They met Brāhmanas as before, and told them how the cat had the power of warding off rats at miles' distance and that it was for sale Brāhmanas realized its utility and were ready to buy it at the quoted price On examination, however, it was found that it was devoid of ears which, Manovega explained, were eaten by ferocious rats one night Brāhmanas laughed at his daring contradiction Manovega refused to admit that the single flaw of not having ears spoiled all other virtues of the cat The Brāhmanas assured him that they were not 'Frogs in the Well', but they questioned him straight 'How can this flaw of the cat be tolerated?'

Manovega then narrated the legend of passionate Agni (or of Yama and Chāyā) 'The ascetic Mandapakausika feared that he might lose heaven for want of progeny, so he married a widow from whom he had a beautiful daughter Chāyā by name While going on pilgrimage, he just thought to what god he should entrust his daughter who would not be able to stand the strain of journey He began scrutinizing the acts and character of different gods Isvara is extremely passionate, Hari is not satisfied with 16 thousand Gopīs, Brahman was mad after Tilottamī and lost his head, and once he generated Jāmbava from a bear, and Indra misbehaved with Ahalyā All these gods are victims of cupid So he kept Chāyā with Yama who too, as days passed, fell in love with her and always carried her in his stomach Agni was jealous of Yama's prize One day when Yama had taken her out on the bank of Ganges, Agni mated with her Just at that moment Yama came there She swallowed Agni, and Yama swallowed her Agni was missing to the distress of all At last Vāyu managed to expose both Chāyā and Agni Agni tried to conceal himself when pursued by Yama If Agni can still be a god with all this blemish, my cat's virtues can remain intact without ears' Brāhmanas admitted

that Purāṇas were inconsistent Manovega further pointed out the blemishes of Śaṅkara, Viṣṇu, Brahman, Indra, Yama, Agni, Sun, etc.

III Third time Manovega assumed the form of a nude Jaina monk, and accompanied by Pavanavega, he met Brāhmanas as before They assured him that they were not like that king of Campā who illtreated his truth-speaking minister, and requested him to narrate how he became a monk etc Manovega spoke thus 'My father is Munidatta, a Śrāvaka from Śrīpura, and he entrusted me to an ascetic for study Once I was sent out with the Kamandalu to bring water, but I sat playing with it on the road Having learnt from other pupils that the teacher was angry, I ran towards the town On the way a mountain-like elephant rushed against me Helpless and terrified I entered into the Kamandalu which was placed on the branch of *bhūṇḍa*, the elephant also rushed into it, and began tearing my clothes with its trunk I ran out through the spout, the elephant also followed me, but with its tail stuck there, it fell on the ground I reached a Jaina temple, and not getting clothes I accepted this traditional form of a Jaina monk' The Brāhmanas laughed at him as a fantastic liar telling impossibilities When they assured him to abandon such scriptures as contained these details, he narrated to them the following episodes Arjuna brought the Nāgaloka through an arrow-hole, Agastya drank the whole ocean, and his Kamandalu containing the universe was put on the branch of an *ataśī* plant, and Brahman's hair was caught at Viṣṇu's navel when the former came out of latter's stomach after seeing there the universe which was once missing If these legends are true, it is quite possible that the elephant could pass through the Kamandaluhole, be accommodated in the Kamandalu, and have its tail stuck in the spout The Brāhmanas were thus silenced, and they were further instructed by him on the faults of divinities and on the true nature of God

IV Fourth time Manovega became a Tāpasa, and accompanied by his friend, met the Brāhmanas as before On condition that they are quite considerate, he narrated his tale thus 'At the time of my mother's marriage there was a confusion created by an elephant She rushed out with the bridegroom at whose touch she fell in a swoon, but he ran away It was discovered that she was pregnant due to his touch Hearing of a 12 years' famine from Tāpasas, I remained in the womb all the while and came out when the famine was over As soon as I was born, I took a pot and demanded food It was considered ominous, and I had to leave home and become a Tāpasa like this My mother was rightly married again, as though she tried to follow Draupadi's example I came here on my religious tour' The Brāhmanas said that he was a first-rate liar talking impossible things, they admitted that they were open to correction, if such details were found in their Scriptures Manovega, to confirm his experience, narrated the following legends Bhagīratha was conceived at women's mutual contact, Gandhārī became pregnant by embracing a jackfruit tree, Abhimanyu understood *cakra-vyūha* while he was in the womb, Mandodarī conceived at the contact of her father's semen, had her foetus restrained in the womb for seven thousand years, and delivered Indrajit after being married to Rāvaṇa, Vyāsa accepted renunciation immediately after his birth, and his mother remained still a virgin, Kuntī remained a *kanyā* even after begetting a son from the Sun, and Candramatī was still a *kanyā* after Nāgaketu's birth and was married to Uddālaka If these Purāṇic legends are true, there is nothing incredible in my mother conceiving me at her beloved's touch, in my hearing about the famine from the womb, in my remaining there for twelve years, in my becoming an ascetic soon after my birth,

and in my mother becoming again a *kanyā* after delivering me' Manovega further enlightened Pavanavega and all others there by narrating the true tales about Karna, Vyāsa, Pāṇdavas, etc. He illustrated to them how people mechanically and thoughtlessly follow others, as in that story of the Copper Pot.

V Fifth time Manovega, along with Pavanavega, became a Buddhist monk (*rakṭa-paṭa*), and on being assured by Brāhmanas that they were thoughtful, he narrated his wonderful experience 'We are devotees of Buddhist monks. Once with sticks in our hands we were appointed by them to guard their clothes spread in sun-shine. Two terrific jackals came there, and we mounted the Stūpa with fear, they, however, lifted it up, and flew away speedily. When they dropped us with a view to devour us, there arrived Bhūllas with dogs, and the jackals ran away. As we were in an unknown country, we easily became Buddhist monks.' Brāhmanas wondered at his astonishing lies, but he reminded them of the following legend. According to the Rāmāyana, each monkey lifted five mountains. If this is true, two jackals can easily lift a Stūpa.

VI At last Manovega and Pavanavega became Śvetāmbara monks (*śveta-bhikṣu*) and met the Brāhmanas who asked them why they became monks and who was their *guru*. Manovega continued in reply 'Once our father Arunaśrika sent us into the forest to graze the sheep, because the shepherd had to attend his father who was down with fever. I requested my companion to tend the sheep, so that in the meanwhile I might eat some *kapittha* fruits. The desire for fruits was very strong, but the tree was too tall. I went near, cut my head, and threw it on the tree requesting it to eat the fruits, as it ate fruits on the tree, my stomach was getting full below, and when I was satisfied, the head came down and joined the body as before. I looked for my brother, but found him asleep and all the sheep lost. We feared that our father would beat us, so we went away to a distant territory and accepted this comfortable garb.' Manovega further confirmed to the Brāhmanas the truth of his experience by narrating the following legends. Cutting his nine heads Rāvana offered them to Śambhū, and these were again joined to his body, Dadhimukha's head could get itself joined with another's trunk, parts of Angada's body were joined by Hanumat, Jarāsamdha's body was constituted of different parts, Skanda's person was made up of six portions, and when the priests are fed, the ancestors are satisfied. If all this, narrated in Brahmanic scriptures, is true, there is nothing improbable in my own head joining the body, and in my stomach being filled when my mouth eats *kapittha* fruits.'

The Brāhmanas were discomfited, and had no replies to give. Manovega explained to Pavanavega various other flaws in the religion and scriptures of Brāhmanas, he expounded to him how the heretical creeds originated, and he also propounded Jaina principles and practices at length. Pavanavega came to possess *samyaktva* and duly accepted the vows of a Śrāvaka. Both Manovega and Pavanavega led a happy life of religious householders.

The Purāṇa-like beginning, the religio-didactic discourse in the form of *madhu-bindu-dr̥ṣṭānta*, the abnormal proportion of folk-tales introduced by way of illustration, the different names of characters, immediate purpose of converting Pavanavega to Jainism by his pious friend Manovega, constant repetition of moral teachings and religious prescriptions, casual and side attacks on gods and holy men, and above all the general framework of the story make Dp much different from Dhū. But if we go a bit deeper and study Dp more analytically and scrutinisingly, the inner kernel of Dp, though heavily

superimposed with good many accessories and details, remarkably corresponds with that of Dhū. The mode of presentation is somewhat different, but the purpose is the same. Dhū is a satiric attack on the Purāṇic legends referring to deities and holy personalities, and Dp, as indicated even by its name, is out to scrutinize the credentials of other religions by criticising their deities and mythology, of course for a specified and immediate aim of converting Pavanavega. Haribhadra's concluding suggestion (V 122) that the study of Dhū leads to *darsana-suddhi* has been fully developed later.¹ Dp actually converts Pavanavega who comes to possess *samyaktva*, and the narration of the Dhū-story, according to Sanghatilaka, makes Vaiśramana-śreṣṭhin a pious believer (*su-śrāddha*) with firm faith in Jina. What is implicit, artistic and detached in the Dhūrtākhyāna becomes outspoken, religio-didactic and propagandistic in the Dharmaparīkṣā. In Dhū the five Dhūrtas narrate tales of fantastic personal experience, and some points from them are confirmed to be reliable by other Dhūrtas after quoting parallel legends from Purāṇas. In Dp Manovega himself, being a Vidyādhara, assumes six different forms, and then he either presents an inconsistent situation or narrates an improbable tale of personal experience. When his inconsistencies are exposed by the learned gathering of Brāhmaṇas, he silences them by quoting similar episodes from their Purāṇas. Besides this fundamental similitude between Dhū and Dp, there are closely corresponding motifs in the fantastic autobiographical tales, and some of the confirmatory legends are common. Mūladeva and the Jaina monk tell nearly the same episode of Kamandalu and Elephant.² Immediately after their birth, Khaṇḍapānās son walked away taking leave of his mother, and Tāpasa demanded food and accepted renunciation. Śasa lifted up the elephant-hide-bag full of oil, and the two jackals, in the Buddhist monk's tale, lift up a Stūpa. Elāsādhā's head, cut off by the thieves, eats *badara* fruits on the tree, and the Śvetāmbara monk throws his head on the tree in order to eat *kapittha* fruits. Legends like Brahman's lotus or hair sticking at Viṣṇu's navel, Vyāsa's birth, Monkeys lifting mountains, and the physical make up of Jarāsamdha and Śumukha are quoted in both Dhū and Dp to confirm almost common motifs. Though not in identical contexts there are many details and legends common to both Dhū and Dp: loose morals of gods (Dhū I 60 f, Dp XI 21 f), Brahman and Tilottamā (Dhū I 58-84, Dp XI 29 f), Indra and Ahalyā (Dhū V 33-36, Dp XI 61 f), Agni's mating with Yama's beloved³ (Dhū V 26-30, Dp XI especially 82 f), Agastya drinking the ocean (Dhū IV 27, Dp XIII 18 f), Kuntī's sons from Sūrya etc (Dhū I. 82 f, V 11, 23, 37, Dp XIV 91, XV 11), the male organ of Siva (Dhū I 39-4, V 59, Dp XIII 80)⁴, etc.

¹ Though the Dhū does not mention any such event, the Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra (A D 1277) records that Haribhadra diverted that layman Kārpāsika from partiality for the Bhārata and Itanāsa by telling him the five stories of rogues (*katava-kathānaka-pañcaka*), and won him over to the Jaina faith (verses IX 207-12). Prabhācandra quotes V 120 thus **एय लोडयकव्वं गद्धहलिडं व बाहिरे मट्ठं । अतो फोडिज्जंतं तुसवुसभुसमीसयं सव्वं ॥** and to explain this verse Haribhadra is said to have composed the Dhūrtākhyāna.

² Two adjectives of the elephant are almost common to Dhū and Dp.

³ The legend in Dhū is shorter, and we do not find there the name of Chāvā and her association with Maṇḍapakaśūka, given in Dp.

⁴ The town of Ujjainī with its northern park is introduced in both Dhū (I 2-3) and Dp (I, 58, 64), though in different contexts.

The hungry Dhūrtas narrating their experiences and confirming the same with Purāṇic legends during a rainy week, with their dinner depending on the decision of their discussion, present a background (in Dhū) which is much dissimilar to that depicted in Dp in which a learned gathering of Brāhmanas of Pātaliputra is visited on six successive days by Manovega (with his friend Pavanavega) who, modestly avoiding debate with Brāhmanas even after he beats the drum and sits on the golden seat, narrates fantastic tales and himself confirms the same with Purāṇic legends, when challenged about the veracity of his statements. In Dhū it is the autobiographical experience that forms the back-bone of the story, the points of which are confirmed by Purāṇic legends, and so it is in the last four stories, 1 e, III-VI, of the Dharma-parīkṣā. The first two contexts in Dp, 1 e, I and II, present not an inconsistent and improbable story, but an incredible situation presented to the eye: those who have ornaments on their body cannot be grass-faggot-sellers, and a cat which is claimed to scare away rats at miles' distance by its presence cannot have its ears eaten by rats. The first situation is justified by the example of Viṣṇu, and the second by saying that a single flaw of the cat can be tolerated or ignored as in the case of god Agni. The Dhū has no Brahmanic audience explicitly before it, while in Dp Manovega is actually made to encounter the Brāhmanas in their own citadel and to outwit them by openly pointing out and criticising inconsistent elements in the Purāṇic mythology. The episode of the Buddhist monk in Dp (No V) is not quite successful, because it affords opportunity to satirize only one legend from the Rāmāyana.

Javarāma's Dp is not available to us, and Harisena's Dp is still in MSS. If we are to be guided by Amitagati's work, we find that he attacks vehemently the Purāṇic deities, even when they do not figure in the legends satirised, here and there he adds certain Purāṇic stories, as they ought to be and as they are accepted by Jaina tradition, now and then he offers pithy maxims of worldly wisdom and sections of didactic teaching, he loses no opportunity to denounce worldly pleasures and prescribe religious discourses, and he not only criticises Purāṇic religion but adds also substantial details on Jaina mythology, dogmatics and ethics. These are some of the specialities of the Dp text as it came to be shaped by Amitagati.

The points of similarity, already noted above, do indicate that Jayarāma must have used the Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra or some subsequent recension of it. The agreement is of a fundamental character and cannot be brushed aside as accidental or incidental. The illustrative sub-stories and the tales of four fools, included in Dp, show that some other popular stories have been intelligently used. Haribhadra by his satirical genius of a very high order merely smashed the structure of Purāṇic mythology, but the authors of Dp have gone a few steps ahead that they tried to erect instead a superstructure of Jaina religious preaching. The artistic mould of Dhū is missed, but a form of effective propaganda has been evolved, and it became much popular in subsequent centuries as indicated by the number of Dp texts in different languages.¹ It is quite natural that

¹ My friend Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar, Mysore, draws my attention to one more Dp (in addition to those which I have mentioned in my paper on Harisena's Dp) in Kannaḍa by Candrasāgara Varpi. He has seen a MS, and has kindly sent some extracts to me. We learn the following details from them. The Dp of Vṛttavilāsa, the pupil of Rāvaḷa Yatiśvara, could be understood only by the learned, so the Śrāvakas of Beḷugula requested Cārukīrti Paṇḍitācārya to get prepared a rendering of it in modern Kannaḍa (*Kannaḍa-vyākhyānadallī māḍisi koḍimbadāgi*). This then at the instance of Cārukīrti, came to be composed by Candrasāgara who offers salutation to both Cārukīrti and [Lakṣmīseṇa] Svāmī of Kolhapur. It is written in simple Kannaḍa, mostly in prose. Following Vṛttavilāsa's Dp it has ten chapters. It is said to be written in Śaka (1770+78=1848 A.D.), Ānanda Samvatsara.

Amitagatī, or even his predecessors, utilised different and additional Purāṇic legends for the same purpose. The Dp texts are stamped with a definite religious bias perhaps that prohibited them from admitting a character like Khandapānā, and on that account some of the fantastic tales are toned down, in some cases being followed by a few Purāṇic legends. It is interesting to note that sometimes Amitagatī, though he is a full-fledged propagandist, writes in a half-serious, mocking mood, even when he introduces a Digambara monk (Dp XII, 88 f). That is a befitting tone for a satirical writer. The Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadra, we have seen, is a unique satire, and its successors like the Dharma-parīksā are a fine specimen of Indian literature which is both interesting and instructive. The caustic prick, which such works might have given to the zealous followers of Purāṇic religion, has not much effect on the dispassionate student of Indian literature for him every novel aspect adds to the wealth of the great literary heritage of the past.

7. PRĀKRIT DIALECT AND STYLE OF DHŪRTĀKHYĀNA

The Prākṛit text of Dhūrtākhyāna, presented in this edition, is based only on two MSS, and still one is faced with difficulties, here and there, in construing and interpreting it satisfactorily. It is, therefore, far from being final, and any attempt to prepare an exhaustive grammar of it is out of question at present. It is intended here just to note a few salient features of the Prākṛit dialect of Dhū, as it stands in this edition.

It has been a recognised convention with the editors of Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī texts to use almost uniformly initial *n* and non-initial *n*, Hemacandra's rule (VIII 1 228-9) is optional, and Dhū shows definite partiality for *n* whether initial or non-initial. Perhaps following the MS B, which conforms to the more strict rule of Hemacandra¹, *y-śruti* is not introduced after vowels other than *a* or *ā*, but the text shows many exceptional cases, for instance *kumdiya* I 58, *darya* III 48, *duggayā* V 92, *dhartya* I 91, *mryaha* IV 71, *suyam* II 51, *hanuyāi* III, 44. It appears that MS A represents a more correct situation, namely, to put *y-śruti* along with the *uderita* vowel, *a* or *ā*, irrespective of the preceding vowel, and Jacob also uniformly follows this rule in his ed. of the Samarācakahā of Haribhadra.

In the absence of separate Nāgaī orthographical symbols for *e* and *o*, as distinguished from those for *ē* and *ō*, we find that *i* and *u* are easily substituted for *e* and *o* before conjuncts etc., where *e* and *o* are to be pronounced short². The point at issue is complicated by the fact that beside the writing of *i* and *u* for *e* and *o*, we must also admit, in some cases the change of these short vowels to *i* and *u*. General principles like the weakening at the end, the original Sanskrit formation, and analogy would establish some system and decide a few points. Sometimes this gives quite a deceptive appearance to certain nomina and verbal forms etc. *ekatah eva* > *ekkatto* (<*cia*> <*ikkattu* (also *ekatto*=*ekkatto*?) <*cica*> IV 73, *ettuo*> <*ittuo*> I 38, *kumdiāe* I 40 but *giṛāi* I 84 and *Nilāi* V 11, *Kumtīe* and *Kumtū* V 11 37, *gotra*> <*gotta*> <*gutta*> V 39, <*akrah va*> <*akko vva*> <*akku vva*> IV 5, <*kṣetra*> <*chetta*> <*chutta*>

¹ It has to be noted that Hemacandra himself knew cases which went against his rule, and it is probable that he is following some grammatical tradition while the practice even in his own days was to write it in all places irrespective of the preceding vowel.

² Pischel Grammatic der Prākṛit-Sprachen (Strassburg 1900), §84. References to Pischel have the sections of this grammar in view.

IV 1-2, *yogya*>*jogga*>*jugga* V 78, *donm*>*dunm* I 81, *peccham*>*piccham* II 5, 9, *potṭa*>*putta* II 44; *bemṭi*>*bimṭi* I 11, *samūho tti*>*samūhu tti* III 57, *śreṣṭhī*>*setthī* *siṭṭhī* V. 94; *so ccrya*>*su ccrya* I 94, V 113, *hojja*>*hujja* I 59, 88, etc

Now and then we come across certain forms which show a change in the quantity of vowel -ī of the Present 3rd p sing III 97 IV 6 (cf Samarā p 249, l 18, p 276, l 6); *uahu* IV 30, *ja* IV 35, *māra* IV 47, *laya* I 3, -mmī of the Loc sing I 4, 23, 36, 51, II 34, IV 37, 88, V 14 78, 112 (usually at the close of a pāda, cf Samarā p 80, l 12, p 652, last line), *vī* V 17, 32 (also Pauma, 17 12), *sua* III 54, etc All these are due to exigencies of metre rather than being special grammatical forms In this category may be included *aranī* for *aranya*¹ II 31, *tesī* for *tesm* I 6 *kadū* for *kaddū* IV 35, etc, also *bandhassā* for *bandhassa* in Samarā, p 652, l 17

There are many forms which show that a short vowel followed by an *anusvāra* and the corresponding long vowel get mutually exchanged, in some cases the text itself preserves both the forms *chammāsā* (metrically required) I 52, *chammāsam* I 32, *chammāsā* I 28, 89, *dhāram*, *dhāā* I 28-9, *mukkhatahā* IV 37 (also Paumacariya *kāraṇaṭṭhā* 5 87), *vahatthā* IV 27, 80, *sakka* III 20, *Sīā* for *Sīam* II 67 (Pauma *jattā kāūna* 5 86), *nivvūi* for *nivvūm* V 51 (see Pauma *uppattī* 1 38, *nivvūi* 5 124, *raī* 6 240), *vilavamānī* V 100, *siṭṭhī* for *siṭṭhim* V 99, *bhanū* III 20 The Abl sing of *mas* and *neu* in -am, noted by Alsdorf² in the Vasudevahindī, appears to me a similar case in which -am and -ā are being interchanged The Paumacariya gives plenty of such cases I have noted only a few This exchange has not resulted from any defective writing Both of them have the same metrical value and phonetic quantity, and they mutually alternate as a purely phonetic variant This interchange is not sporadic just affecting a few forms of our text It appears to have been a regular phenomenon which has left its influence on the different aspects of Middle Indo-Aryan³ Once we accept it, many strange words and forms (besides those noted above) get easily explained, for instance, *samrakkhana* and *sārakkhana*, *simha* and *siha*, *mamsa* and *māsa*, in Pāli *vāḡiṣa* and *vamḡiṣa*, *sanātana* and *sanamtana*, etc Probably this has arisen out of uncertain pronunciation of a short vowel followed by an *anusvāra*

Intervocalic *g* is not only retained sometime *jage* IV 43, *nāge* IV 46, *sāgara* III 75, also *sāyara* IV 27, but *k* also in softened to *g* *egāgmā* IV 31, *kamalāgara* V 53, etc Intervocalic *d* is retained in some cases *udara* III 85, *udahā* IV 89, *tiloda* IV 21, also *tilloā* IV 7

Instances like *ten'ayagarena* V 67, *divas'avasane* IV 9, *Bhārah'avayāra-kāle* I 82 illustrate Jacobi's rule⁴ of dropping of the final *a* of the first word when followed by a even when in turn followed by a short syllable As typical Samdhis we might note *astī+esa*=*atthesa* IV 14, *rtusnātā*>*uunhāyā*>*unhāyā* V 8

¹ For the change of *y* to *i*, compare *a(b)bhvantara*>*abbhmtara*, *ma(d)dkhyama*>*majjhma*

² See his paper 'The Vasudevahindī, a specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, Bulletin of the School of O Studies, Vol VIII, parts 2 and 3

³ Consult also Pischel's Grammatik §§ 75, 114, 181 and 339 Dr A M Ghatage has discussed this in his paper 'Linguistic Nature of Prākṛit Languages' read at the 11th All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad He regards it as a case of extension of the original alterance arising from cases where it is due to normal causes

⁴ Sanatkumāracaritam (München 1921), Intro p 6

Some of the proper names show some phonetic changes, *Agastya*=*Agatthi* I 63, IV 27, the Sanskrit verse regularly reads *Agastin* 265, *Ahalyā*=*Ahullā* V 33, *Mārkaṇḍeya*=*Makkaṇḍa* II 31, *Pārāsura* I 63, V 13 (note the *v* 1), *Rāmana*¹ II 62, 68, 71 and rarely *Rāvana* III 93, *Vasistha*=*Visittha* I 63

Some words change their bases *kamandala* I 32-3, beside *kamamdalu* I 21-3, *Bambhūna* V 116 (also *Pauma* 5 122), *manasā* I 50, *Khamdācānai* for *Khamdāvānā* IV 14 — A few words stand without the termination of the subject or object *gammāgammā* IV 85, *gaya-kacchava* IV 61, *-sambhama* IV 81, *luāhia* IV 85 (for similar cases see *Pauma* 1 6, 36 etc) — The form *Agatthīnam* is Inst sing, such forms are already noted by Pischel (§ 379) in *Ardhamāgadhī*, and plenty of them are found in the *Paumacariya* 12 113, 13 10, 15 20, 16 32 etc. A form like *Agatthīna* would be quite regular in *Apabhramśa*. *Uvvaṣīya*² V 115 is Gen sing (for such forms cf *Tilovapannatti* 1 241, 2 208, etc, also 4 42, the termination for Gen and Loc being the same) Loc sing *kucchummi* II 41, also *kucchīe* II 38 — Inst sing of *asmad* is *me* III 3, V 21, 32, perhaps *me* is represented by *mi* at V 32, second line. Looking at the use of *mi* at II 2 and IV 2, 4, one finds that it is serving the purpose of both *aham* (through Inst sing *me*, with *p p p* as the predicate) and *asmu* (through the forms *amhi*, *mhi*, *ammu*, *mmi*). Hemacandra is quite aware of such forms, and Pischel has square-bracketed them in the absence of authentic usage. Lately Alsdorf³ has noted such cases from the *Vasudevahindī*, and it will be seen that the forms of *asmad* have affected analogically those of *yusmad* — At IV 24 *tam* stands for *tvam* Instr sing is *te* I 87, also *tume*

Of the verbal forms we may note a few. Present 1st p sing *paribhamami* IV 3, V 51, also *paribhamāmi* III 1, 3rd p sing *tappai* I 55, 59, perhaps from the passive base (also *Pauma* 9 55) — Imp 2nd p sing *de* V 78, in the light of the available material, its stages of evolution can be shown thus *dehi dehi* *de-dehi*, naturally then *de* can stand for *dehi*. Our text gives a form *ehehi* II 36 (cf *1 ehe chi*, perhaps a scribal improvement on *eehi*), and the *Paumacariya* gives some such forms *hana hana* 69 112, *chehi* 44 53, *e-ehi* 8 174, *thā-thāhi* 45 10⁴. The form *sumjānu* I 53 (cf *Pauma* 38 46 *khamujjānu*) started perhaps with the passive augment but here in the active sense⁵. The lengthening of *i* in *bhāṇihāmo* V 3 has parallels in the *Paumacariya* *vaccihāma* V 190, *bhāvihāma* 118 63, etc — *ahesi* VI 33 is to be traced back to Aorist **abhaçit* (Pischel 516 and Hema VIII iii 164) — *peçcham* II 5, 9, is apparently used in the sense of the Present 1st p sing — At III 15 *chunna* is used as the base

-um or *tum* is the well-known termination of the Infinitive, but many forms in this text are used with the Gerundive sense *ovarium* IV 2, *kāum* IV 50, *gamtum* I 66, III 40, 43, *chunnum* III 15, *namuum* II 9, *sāmattheum* III 9, 28, 56 (cf *Pauma* 1 10, 2 60, 5 38, etc). The Gerundives with *-itti* and *-īna* are available in this text, see I 71, V 43, 48, 87, 102. The form *pimdeer* III 18 is Gerundive, quite usual in *Apabhramśa*, and parallels are found in the *Pauma* 11 99, 41 63, 43 48 — There is one usage of the Infinitive *paribhuttum-je* I 45 which deserves special attention. *je* is used as a proclitic

¹ Jacobi *Bhavisattakaha* (München 1918) Intro p 69* line 1

² Such forms are found also in the *Vasudevahindī* as noted by Alsdorf in his paper referred to above

³ See his paper referred to above

⁴ A. M. Ghatage *Repetition in Prākṛit Syntax* New Indian Antiquary Vol II 1 p 55

⁵ See also Hemacandra's *Grammar* VIII iii 177-8

here Such forms are found in the Paumacariya also *ghettum-je* I 14, *hamtum-je* 53 54, *nāum-je* 118 62 According to Hemacandra (VIII ii 217) this *je* is merely an expletive for *pāda-pūraṇe*¹

At III 58 and V 111 *jattena* and *loena* are used in the sense of Loc, so also *-samthi-ehum* & *-rattehi* either stand for Loc, or even Gen Similar instances are found in the Ācārāṅga as well It is interesting to note that Apabh has a common termination *-hum* in the Instr and Loc pl Iocl for Inst *vālaggamte* I 24, 53 (cf Paum 8 42, 94), Loc for Abl *pāesu* II 45, *bāhāsu* I 37, *ūūsū* I 37 (but *ūrūhum* II 46²) — *nāma nāmena* I 7, IV 7, is just a repetition³ Parallels for it are found in the Mahābhārata (Virāta 2 1), Rāmāyana and Paumacariya 2 8, 21 In the Pauma (41 46) and Vasudeva-hindī (p 12) *nama* is suffixed to the proper name, *Aggikey-nāmo*, *Jumbū-nāmo* and these are later on again followed by *nāmena* — One feels from *guī vva* II 34, *lmnda vva* V 120 that perhaps *vva* is being used for *vat*

The dialect used by Haribhadra has much common with that of Paumacariya, and some of the traits have definite stamp of antiquity in the evolution of Prakrits In view of its inheritance of certain Ardhamāgadhi characteristics and its close affinity with the idiom of Pāumacariya, we may call it Jaina Māhārāstri, following the terminology of Jacobi and Pischel

The style of Dhūrtākhyāna, on the whole, is simple and fluent, and quite suited to the conversational tone in which the rogues are carrying on their learned wangling Haribhadra follows here the epic model, and is addressing an audience of mediocre education and not a learned gathering No artificial attempt is made to embellish the language with poetic ornaments The author's mastery over canonical language has unconsciously introduced expressions like *sammūha-pādihero*, *samnddha-baddha-kavayā* etc (II 6, 10) which remind us of Ardhamāgadhi phrases In descriptions, however, the normal style has not been maintained long compounds are easily introduced in describing the rainy season (I 8 f), Ganges (I 25 f), Tilottamā (I 62 f, II 29 f), etc The description of the cemetery (V 82 f), though quite dignified as a piece of composition, is not only out of place and proportion, but also conspicuously pedantic in its construction in this small work The first four fantastic tales are remarkably racy in their style, and the handling of expression is quite in keeping with the presentation of events

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My most sincere thanks I offer to Āchārya Jinavijayaji, the learned Editor of the Dhūrtākhyāna in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Gujarati, who kindly requested me to associate myself with his edition by contributing a critical Essay I had realized the importance of

¹ Some illustrations are already noted from the Panhāvāgarianām and Dr Sen has observed thus "The infinitive with *-je* which occurs twice (*gimhrum-je* p 122a *gimhrum-je* p 113a) occurs in the canon not earlier than in some late *gāthā-prakīrṇaka* A critical Introduction to the Panhāvāgarianām, Würzburg 1936, p 13 See also Das Mahānīśhasutta by W Schubring, Berlin 1918, p 92

² Jacobi Some Ancient Jaina Works, Modern Review pp 574-77, December 1914, also his Bhaṣatākaha, p 60 of the Intro Ghatage Instrumental and Locative in Ardhamāgadhi, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol XIII, No 1, 1931

³ See the paper 'Repetition in Prakrit Syntax', p 50, noted above

this work a couple of years back, and I gladly welcomed this opportunity of studying the Dhūrtākhyāna which is a remarkable satire in Indian literature. My thanks are also due to Dr R N Dandekar, Poona, Dr S K De, Dacca, Dr A M Ghatage, Kolhapur, and Mr K D Pednekar, M A, Kolhapur, who helped me with some books, references and suggestions.

Rajaram College, Kolhapur

A N UPADHYE

25-10-1943

THE VARĀṄGACARITA OF JAṬILA*

1 CRITICAL APPARATUS

This edition of *Varāṅgacarita* is based on two palm-leaf Mss that were available; and their critical description is given below

Ka (क) This palm-leaf Ms, measuring 13 5" × 2" × 2", belongs to Śrī Laksmīsenā Matha, Kolhapur (No 155, also 195, *Varāṅgacaritra, Samskrta*) It contains 144 leaves (=288 pages), each page has eight lines and each line about 55 letters. It is written in Old-Kannada script, and the hand-writing is uniform and fairly beautiful. The Ms is well preserved, and is in good order. Only one leaf, No 30, is broken across. It has some lacunae here and there. The copyist is careful, but his copy appears to have inherited some mistakes from the original. Now and then intelligent corrections are made in a new hand-writing. As it is usual in Old-Kannada Mss, short and long *i*, *u* and *e* are not distinguished. Here *dh* and *th* are generally represented by *da* and *ta*, and very often *p* and *y* are interchanged. When *r* is the first member of a conjunct group, the other consonant is written as double *vīryya*, *dharmma* etc. The three sibilants are often confused, and *l* is usually put for *l*.

The Ms opens thus

श्रीमदादिब्रह्मणे नम । निर्विघ्नमस्तु ॥ अहंखिलेक . . . ;

and the concluding passage, at the close of thirty-first canto, runs thus

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्षे १६५८ नळनामसवत्सरे कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दशीतिथौ मन्दवारयुक्तायां श्रीरङ्गपत्तनप्रविराजमानश्रीमदादिनाथ श्रीवीरनाथस्वामिवादाग्भे रुद्रयुग्म-सनिधौ श्रीमदभिनवचारुकीर्तिपण्डिताचार्यवर्यानुज्ञया पोमण्णोपाध्यायस्य प्रियपुत्राय अर्प्यग्योपाध्याय पायिसेट्टियुत्रेण पार्श्वह्वयेण मया लिखित्वा दत्तमिदं वराङ्गचरितमिति मङ्गलमहा श्री ६ ।

Thus this Ms was written by Pārsva, the son of Pāyisetti, for Annayya Upādhyāya, the son of Pomanna Upādhyāya, with the permission of the contemporary Cārukīrti Panditācārya, at Śrīrangapattana, on Mandavāra, the 14th of the black-half of the month of Kārtika, Śālivāhana Śaka 1658, the name of the year being Nala. Śrīrangapattana is the present Seringapatam near Mysore, Cārukīrti is the permanent title of the Bhattāraka of Śravana Belgol Matha, and a salutation to him at the beginning of the fourth canto in this Ms is not without some significance. The date corresponds with Saturday, 20th November, A D 1736. So our Ms is 202 years old and comes from Mysore territory. This was the first Ms of *Varāṅgacarita* that I discovered in 1930, and subsequently wrote a detailed paper on it in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, XIV, 61-79.

* This is the Introduction of the *Varāṅgacarita* of Jaṭila. It was published in the *Manikachandra D Jaina Granthamālā*, No 40, Bombay 1938.

Ma (म) This is a faithful transcript of the palm-leaf Ms of *Varāṅgacarī* belonging to the Jaina Matha at Śravana Belgol Through the good offices of Mr N ANANTARANGACHAR the palm-leaf Ms has been lately procured for the Oriental Library Mysore The Ms measures $23\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the written portion 22 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches It contains 109 leaves written on both sides There are six lines on each side and roughly about 90 letters in each line Every chapter opens with Śrī and a salutation to Vitarāg or some Īrthakara which possibly belongs to the copyist There are lacunae here and there

The concluding lines of the copyist run thus

स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशाय नमः १९८० बहुमान्यसंज्ञिते मारुशिरामे शुक्लपञ्चतुदश्या रविवायुक्ताय
भल्लतकपुराभिधानमहापत्तन श्रीनेमितीर्थेश्वरमहाचालाये मानवामनानक्रम्य यथा स्थित तथैव लिखितम्
पुस्तकमिदं लेखकशिरोमणिना आह्वयपवित्रेण लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं तन्मूर्ध्वं श्रम्यता वुर्ध्वेति लेखकस्य म-
प्रार्थना ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ मङ्गलं चाम्बु ॥ भद्रं भूयाज्जिनाग्रामनाथ ॥ श्रीनिनाथाय नमः
श्रीवीरसेनमुनये नमः ॥ ॥

Thus this Ms was written and finished by the priest Odayappa who styles himself as *lekhaka-śromani*, an expert copyist, at Bhallātakapura, on Sunday the 14th day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīra in the year Bahudhānya, Śaka 1380 Bhallātakapura is the present Gersoppa¹ which is famous for Joag Falls and which, I am told, possesses Jain cultural relics in the form of typical temples with beautiful images The date corresponds with Sunday, 19th of November, A D 1458 This Ms is 480 years old

I have not handled this palm-leaf Ms, but my readings etc are based on a faithful transcript of it kindly supplied to me by Pt N ANANTARANGACHAR of the Oriental Library Mysore

Some more details about Ma and Ka may be noted here These Mss show a tendency of retaining *visarga* before *k* and *p* where ordinarily it is changed to *r* Both of them read *saṁmāna* for *saṁmāna* In canto xvi, verse No 65 is found only in Ka, and verse No 76, the same as No 81 below, only in Ma In three places arrangement of lines into stanzas possibly due to the loss of some line or lines, is much confused (i) Between vii 18 and vii 23 there should be in all sixteen lines, but both the Mss have only fourteen lines distributed over three verses Ka puts six lines in No 21 and Ma also shows nearly the same arrangement though two lines are left without numbering after No 21 It is impossible to construe the verses as they stand so I have shown blank space for lines 3 and 4 in No 19 and then distributed the remaining lines (ii) In both the Mss there are only eleven lines between xx 2 and xx 6 Nos 3 and 4 have four lines each, while No 5 has only three This arrangement is syntactically impossible and gives no sense I have shown however, the 4th line of No 3 as blank which makes the position quite clear (iii) Some two lines being lost somewhere the arrangement of verses xxiv 63-72 is much unsatisfactory In verse No 70 Ka has only two lines *śapurārjita varṇayanti*, while Ma has only two in No 71 *bahukoti praśasti* A close study of this portion tempted me to keep the first two lines of No 64 blank and then assign the remaining lines to different verses

¹ R NARASIMHACHARYA *Karnāṭaka Kavacārte*, Vol II, p 228

There are many identical lacunae in both the Mss, for instance i 62, 70, vi 54, xvi 72, xvii 76, 78, xviii 130, xx 27, xxiv 22, 23, 40, xxv 27, 49, xxix 21, xxxi 48 etc. In textual accuracy Ma is superior to Ka, but comparatively there are more lacunae in Ma (for instance xiv 98, xvi 72, xvii 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, xviii 1, 3, 5, xxii 59, 62, xxiv 40 etc), but most of them I could fill by the readings given by Ka. Some lacunae in Ka are filled by a subsequent hand, at times even incorrectly. For instance in xx 27 there is a gap of two letters, and Ka supplies in the margin a reading *javaiḥ* which is not quite satisfactory, in xvii 76 Ka has no gap as in Ma, but the reading of Ka is far from being satisfactory. From the transcript I see that Ma once gives a *v* / on ix 10, possibly it is from the margin of the palm-leaf Ms. The number of cases of Ma filling the gaps of Ka is negligibly small, almost nil.

Compared with Ka, Ma is older by 278 years, it preserves better readings, and it contains less scribal errors though the number of lacunae in it is greater. Ma was written at Gersoppa and Ka at Seringapatam thus both of them come from Karnāṭaka. They are closely associated with the Jaina Matha at Śravana Belgol in the Mysore territory. Ma belonged to that Matha before it was brought to Mysore, and Ka was copied with the permission of the contemporary Bhattāraka of that Matha. Ka has one verse not found in Ma (xxvi 65), in some places Ka supplies satisfactory letters and words where Ma has gaps (xvii 70, 71 etc), and Ka has many readings quite independent of Ma (see for instance the readings on vi 43, xiii 41, xvi 18, xix 11 etc). These facts are enough to show that Ka is not a direct copy of Ma. Then some other points also will have to be taken into account between the two Mss there are many common lacunae as noted above, there are some significant errors in both (see vi 19, vii 13, xii 27, xiii 40, 58, xiv 26, xv 105, xx 71, xxii 69, xxiv 4, xxx 47 etc), at the opening of canto xxx there is a salutation verse in both possibly belonging to the copyist. These facts indicate that Ka is not absolutely independent of Ma. Under these circumstances I am inclined to believe that both Ka and Ma had a common predecessor in an old Ms some generations back. The greater number of lacunae in Ma might indicate that the immediate predecessor of Ma was a faulty Ms being eaten by worms etc. It is very difficult to say whether any intelligent copyist has filled the gaps in Ka or in its predecessor.

2 TEXT-CONSTITUTION

The editor had to work with the limited material supplied by these two palm-leaf Mss which belong to the same family. They are distant members of the same group. This limited material too has its own defects. Genuine variants as such are very few. Most of the divergent readings are like the guesses and the slips of scribes. When the text is difficult or obscure the number of readings increases. We have more variant readings at the beginning of the work than at the close of it perhaps many novices studied some opening cantos of *Varāṅgaçarita*. In philosophical sections, for instance canto xxiv, the text is obscure in many places and baffles one's wits. There are many gaps in the text, variants, even though available, are not of much help, and very often both the Mss unite to commit a palpable error. The work is pretty old, the Ms tradition is insufficient and defective, and there is no commentary available on this work. The text is being edited for the first time, and as such I had no opportunities of availing myself of the suggestions of earlier workers. Lastly, no other work of this author has come to

light, a close study of which would have helped the editor to understand the textual peculiarities in a better manner

Under these circumstances I have proceeded with utmost caution and conservatism. By mutually collating Ka and Ma, many scribal, orthographical and other errors were eliminated. The spelling and other features of the text are presented in a standardised form. Common lacunae are retained. In some cases signs of short and long vowels are added by me in square brackets. When there was a gap only in one Ms, it has been filled by readings supplied by the other. This eclectic method I have adopted, because both the Mss belong to the same family. When there was a disagreement, I have adopted a convenient reading in the text and relegated the other to the foot-notes. Sometimes it will be seen that meaningless variants are noted with a view that they might be useful to conjecture the correct original. When the text is apparently corrupt, I have put question marks in a few cases. As far as possible I have not trespassed the material supplied by the Mss, and even in keeping myself within that limit I had to use my discretion now and then. When there is an agreement between both the Mss even on plain errors, I have proceeded thus: the readings are left as they are, but in the foot-notes, within square brackets, I have suggested what might have been the probable original of the corrupt readings. Now and then I had occasions to discuss these corrupt readings with many of my friends who were kind enough to make some suggestions here and there. Such suggestions together with those that occurred to me later and other points which I had to face in settling the text I have included in the Notes at the end. In handling the Mss material such readings do suggest themselves to anyone from the recognised grammatical, metrical and syntactical needs, from the peculiarities of the script, and from the metathetical, haplographical and other errors to which the scribes are often liable. I may explain a few cases here by way of illustration. In iv 47 Ka reads *sacalah ksanatah*, and Ma reads *saca laksanatah*, but both of them do not mean anything. Taking the sense into consideration and remembering that *c* and *v* could be confounded both in Devanāgarī and Kannada I have suggested (*śavalah*) as the possible correct reading. In vii 13 *prakṛsta-kāi andavaham vasanti* is only a metathetical corruption of (**kārandava-hamsavanti*). In xii 27 *drastum naram prāṇi* is certainly a scribal corruption of (*dīaṣṭum na randhrāṇi*) is judged from Nos 25-6 above. In xx 71 *nṛpatayā* is only a contaminated error for (*pṛtanaya*), which gives the necessary sense. In xxx 47 *tato'thā puri vāprasamgāh*, which is found in both the Mss, is decidedly a corrupt reading. Taking into consideration that *p* and *y* are often confused in this Ms and that *v* could be read for *th*, I have suggested (*tato vāyurvāl-pasamgāh*) which, I think, gives a suitable sense. My emendations in the square brackets and in the Notes are only tentative, and I do not claim them to be final. These suggestions are made more or less to eliminate the errors of copyists and not to improve on the author. As they are put in the foot-notes and separately in the Notes, they do not hinder better suggestions from others. Some of my Śāstric friends suggested to make these corrections freely in the text by relegating the corrupt readings to the foot-notes and to regularise the grammatical angularities of the text according to *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. But, in view of the antiquity of the work and the insufficient and unsatisfactory character of the material, I have diligently refrained from taking any such steps, which, at this stage, would be a handicap to subsequent workers. I have, however, pointed out some grammatical irregularities in the Notes. Thus, in this edition, I have given a faithful record of the text-tradition from the two available Mss and presented the text as satisfactorily as it was possible for me within the limitations of the material.

3 AUTHORSHIP OF THE POEM

Both the Mss do not mention the name of the author anywhere. Neither in the colophons of various cantos nor in the concluding verses of any canto has the author mentioned his name or any personal details. Anything like a *praśasti* is not found in either of the Mss. I have not been able to lay my finger on any significant words in the concluding verses of any canto which might indirectly hint the author's name. The two words *viśālakīrti* and *rājasmṛha* in 189 do catch our eye, but there is no need of forcing any special significance out of them, because such words do not occur at the close of other cantos.

In the absence of any clue from the text, we shall have to search for some external evidence to settle the authorship of *Varāṅgacarita*.

(1) Jināsena, in his *Harivamśa-purāṇa*¹ (A D 783), refers to *Padmacarita* and *Varāṅgacarita* in these two verses

कृतपद्मोदयोद्योता प्रत्यहं परिवर्तिता ।
मूर्ति काव्यमयी लोके रवेरिव रवे प्रिया ॥
वराङ्गनेव सर्वाङ्गेवराङ्गचरितार्थवाक् ।
कस्य नोत्पादयेद्वाढमनुराग स्वगोचरम् ॥ I 34-35

Thus in the first verse Ravisena is suggested as the author of *Padmacarita*². The second verse is not syntactically connected with the first, and it can be rendered thus 'In whom will not the style of *Varāṅgacarita*, which is pregnant with sense arouse, with all its factors, deep passion for itself, just in the wise of a lovely damsel who arouses, with all her limbs, deep passion for herself—a damsel whose speech has its purpose done through her excellent limbs?' It is a self-sufficient verse describing only the merits of *Varāṅgacarita* without mentioning the name of its author³.

(2) Uddyotanasūri, in his *Kuvalayamālā*⁴ (A D 778), has a verse like this

जेहिं कए रमणिज्जे वरंग-उपमाण चरियवित्तारे ।
कह व ण सल्लहणिज्जे ते कइणो जडिय-रवितेणो ॥

It is clear from the words *jehim, te kaino* that he is referring to two poets, the authors of *Varāṅga-* and *Padma-carita*, and their names are to be detected in the phrase '*Jadyara-*

¹ Māṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Vols 31-2, Bombay 1930

² Ibidem, Vols 29-30, Bombay Samvat 1985

³ Pt. PREMI took these verses together and suggested in his *Vidvadratnamālā* (Bombay 1912), p. 43, that Ravisena had written a *Varāṅga arita* besides his *Padmacarita*. Later on in a short article in *Jama Hataish*, Vol 15, p. 104, and in his Introduction to the edition of *Padmacarita* he quoted the verse from *Kuvalayamālā* with its defective readings. As I have shown elsewhere (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol XIV, parts 1-11, pp. 61-79), the attribution of *Varāṅgacarita* to Ravisena has to be given up for the simple reason that of the two evidences put forth by him one is insufficient since it does not mention the name of the author at all and the second goes completely against him. It gives me great pleasure to note that Pt. PREMI, a sportsman-like scholar as he is, has already corrected himself and accepted the view stated above in his Hindi summary of my article which he published in *Jaina Jagat*, February 1933.

⁴ *Catalogue of Mss in Jesalmere Bhandārs*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol XXI, p. 42

viseno' Pt PREMI wavered on the reading of the first part once he read *Jadiya* and second time *Jaiya*¹ DALAL quotes an extract from *Kuvalayamālā* in his notes on *Kāvya mīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara, and he also reads *Jadiya*² Taking the names respectively Uddyotanasūri attributes *Padmacarita* to Ravisena and *Varāṅgacarita* to Jadiya, which appears to be a wrong reading for Jadula, as we see from Dhavala's remark given below

(iii) Then Dhavala, in his *Harivamsa* (circa A.D. 11th century) composed in the Apabhramśa dialect, refers to *Varāṅgacarita* thus³

मुणिमहसेण सुलोयण जेण
पउमचरिउ मुणिरविसेणेण ।
जिणसेणेण हरिवसु पवित्तु
जडिलमुणिणा वरगचरित्तु ॥

In quite plain terms Dhavala refers to *Sulocana-carita* of Mahāsena, *Padmacarita* of Ravisena, *Harivamsa* of Jināsena and *Varāṅgacarita* of Jatilamuni. Though Jināsena is silent on the authorship of *Varāṅgacarita*, Uddyotana and Dhavala are unanimous in attributing one to Jatila. Now it remains for us to see whether Jatilamuni is the author of our *Varāṅgacarita* which is completely silent about its author.

(iv) Cāmundarāya, the commander-in-chief and minister of Rācāmalla (A.D. 974-84) has composed in Kannada prose one *Trisasti-salākāpurāṇa-carita*, popularly known as *Cāmundarāya-purāṇa* (A.D. 978)⁴ in which we find a passage like this:

नात्वनैय कथेयबुदु द्रव्यमु क्षेत्रमु कालमु भावमु प्रकृतमु तीर्थमु फलमुमैदु सप्तागमवक्तुं अवरोह
द्रव्यवेबुदु जीवाजीवास्रवसवरानजरबंधमोक्षमैव तत्त्वमनुळ्ळुदु क्षेत्रमैवदु त्रैलोक्यं कालमैवदु अतीता
नागतवर्तमानात्मक त्रिभेदमु सुषमदुष्पमादि षड्भेदमनुळ्ळुदु भावमैवदु, कर्मगळ क्षयादिनुपशर्मा
क्षयापशर्मादिनप्पात्मन पर्याय प्रकृतमैवदु जीवादितत्त्वगळ्ळ्यावुदानुमोदु विवक्षितमप्य वस्तु तीर्थमैवदु
जिनपति चरित फलं बुदु तत्त्वज्ञानं ऐदनेय श्रोतृवेषां जटासहनद्याचायर वृत्त—

मृत्सारिणीमहिषहंसशुकम्बभावा
मार्जारवङ्कमशकाजजलुकसाम्या ।
सच्छिद्रकुम्भपशुसपशिलोपमानास्ते
श्रावका भुवि चतुर्दशधा भवन्ति ॥

इतु प्रशस्ताप्रशस्तात्मकचतुर्दशविकल्पं⁵

The prose passage, it will be seen, is a close paraphrase of *Varāṅgacarita* 1.6-7 and the quotation is the same as the 15th verse of the first canto. There is no doubt that Cāmundarāya is writing this portion with the verses of our *Varāṅgacarita* before him.

¹ *Jaina Hitani* XV, p. 101 and his Introduction to *Padmacarita* p. 1.

² Gutschwiler's O. Series No. 1, p. 124 of the Notes 3rd Ed. p. 205.

³ *Catalogue of Sk & Pk Mss in C. P. and Berar* p. 764.

⁴ Published by Kārnātaka Sāhitya Puṣhād, Bangalore, 1928.

⁵ I have given this extract from an old palm-leaf Ms. belonging to Mr. TATYASAHEB PATIL of Nandan which is with me at present. The printed text has some different readings here and there.

and it is no wonder, if Cāmundarāya was tempted to mention the name of the author of that verse. The phrase '*Jatāsimhanandyācārya vṛttam*' is not found in some of the Mss used for the Ed of *Ādipurāna* of Cāmundarāya, and so the editors have relegated this phrase to the foot-notes. A palm-leaf Ms of *Cāmundarāyapurāna* written in Śaka 1427 (A D 1505) has this phrase along with the verse quoted, and I do not see any reason to doubt the genuineness of that phrase. Thus the author of the above verse, and consequently of our *Varāṅgacarita*, is Jatāsimhanandyācārya according to Cāmundarāya's authority. Further, I think, this Jatāsimhanandyācārya is the same as Jatācārya referred to in *Ādipurāna*¹ (c A D 838) by Jinasena thus

काव्यानुचिन्तने यस्य जटा. प्रचलवृत्तय
अर्थान्मानुवदन्तीव जटाचार्यः स नोऽवतात् ॥ I 50.

In a marginal note of a Ms of *Ādipurāna* Simhanandi is given as the proper name of Jatācārya.² Not only Jinasena refers to Jatācārya but draws a good deal of technical matter from *Varāṅgacarita* as shown below. One is tempted to surmise from the above pieces of evidence that the name of our author was Simhanandi, and he was popularly known as Jatācārya perhaps from his long matted hair, which 'shivered when he was deeply engrossed in his poetic compositions'. Cāmundarāya calls him Jatā-Simhanandi possibly to distinguish him from other Simhanandis that flourished before his time. Jatila means one who has matted hair, and hence we can identify Jatācārya with Jatila, the latter being the author of *Varāṅgacarita* according to *Kuvalayamālā* and Apabhramśa *Harivamśa*. Thus in conclusion we can say that this *Varāṅgacarita* is composed by Simhanandi, alias Jatā-Simhanandi, who was popularly known as Jatila or Jatācārya.

4 JATĀ-SIMHANANDYĀCĀRYA

Very little do we know about Jatā-Simhanandi, Jatācārya or Jatila. In different centuries there have flourished in Jaina hierarchy many saints and authors bearing the name Simhanandi. Taking a resumé of important epigraphic and literary references, we can enumerate at least half a dozen Simhanandis, and about all of them we have got very scanty information. (i) The most famous Simhanandi, whose name is often mentioned in later inscriptions and who is closely associated with the historical tradition of Karnāṭaka, is he who helped the two forlorn princes to found the Ganga dynasty sometime in the 2nd century A D or so.³ (ii) At Śrāvana Bēlgol there is an epitaph of one Singanandi who is assigned to circa Śaka 622 (A D 700).⁴ (iii) One Simhanandi, possibly belonging to Kānūrgana, is mentioned in some of the inscriptions of the first quarter of the 12th century A D.⁵ (iv) Then one Simhanandi, possibly of the Nandigana,⁶ is mentioned in some

¹ The text is published with Marāṭhi translation (still incomplete) from Kolhapur, with Hindī rendering from Indore and with Kannaḍa translation (partly) once from Bangalore and once from Mysore.

² *Collected Works* of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol II, p 272.

³ B. LEWIS RICE *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p 31, M. S. R. AYYANGAR & B. S. RAO. *Studies in South Indian Jainsm*, p 109.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica* II No 32.

⁵ E. C. VII Shimoga No 57, *Ibidem* Nos 4 & 64.

⁶ E. C. V Arsikere No 1 etc.

of the inscriptions of the last quarter of the 12th century A D It is not unlikely if this reference stands for the famous Simhanandi No 1 noted above (v) Further one Simhanandi of Balātkāragana is mentioned in an inscription of A D 1371 which records the death of his pupil.¹ (vi) At the time of Śrutasāgara, who flourished about the beginning of the 16th century A D., there was one Simhanandi, a Bhaṭṭāraka of Mālava territory, according to whose advice Śrutasāgara wrote his commentary on *Mahābhāṣya*² (vii) Dhavala mentions one Simhanandi who wrote a work on twelve Anupreksās, but we do not know anything about him further³ The details about various Simhanandis are so scanty that it is often difficult to distinguish one from the other However the facts noted above are enough to show that there were Simhanandis more than one Even today the same name is borne by many Jaina monks, and in order to distinguish one from the other the names of their villages etc are added to their names for instance, Edchalli Candrasāgara, Saragūra Candrasāgara and so forth The name of Simhanandi who played some role in the foundation of Ganga dynasty was quite prominent in Karnāṭaka tradition, and it is perhaps to distinguish from him that Cāmundarāya calls our author Jatā-Simhanandi

Though his name had lately fallen into oblivion, Jatā-Simhanandi is mentioned with reverence for centuries together in Jaina literary tradition preserved in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannaḍa texts According to Uddyōtanasūri (A D 778) *Varāṅgacarita* is pleasing and its author Jatīla worthy of respect Jināsena I (A D 783) refers to *Varāṅgacarita* as perfect and fascinating Jināsena II (c A D 838) highly compliments the poetic flash of Jatācārya Dhavala (c 11th century A D) mentions Jatīla and *Varāṅgacarita* in good company These verses are already given above

Turning to Kannaḍa literature, Pampa in his *Adipurāṇa* (Ed, Mysore 1900) which was completed in Śaka 863 (A D 941)⁴ respectfully mentions Jatācārya in this manner

आर्येनुत्-गृध्रपिच्छा-

चार्ये-जटाचार्ये-विश्रुतश्रुतकीर्त्या-

चार्ये-पुरस्सरमप्त्वा-

चार्ये-परंपरेये कुहुगे भव्योत्सवम् ॥ I 12

We have seen above how Cāmundarāya (A D 978) is indebted to *Varāṅgacarita* and gives a quotation from it plainly mentioning Jatā-Simhanandi as its author Nayāsena (A D 1112), in his *Dharmāmṛta* (Ed, Mysore 1924-26), refers to Jatā-Simhanandīcārya as an ocean of right conduct and endowed with many merits in the following verse

वर्यलोकोत्तमभाविमुर्वोद्धनघरस्त्युन्नतकोडकुंदा-

चार्यचारित्ररत्नाकररविकुणर्सज्जटासिंहनंदा ।

चार्यभीकृचिभट्टारकवितयशर्मिकपेपिंगे लोका-

अर्थनिष्कर्षरेष्मं पौरमडिसुगे ससारक'तारदिदं ॥ I 13

¹ E C VIII Sorab No 199

² Māpikachandra D J Granthamālā Vol 17, p 7 of the Intro

³ A N UPADHYE *Pravacanāsāra* (Bombay 1935) Intro p 39 foot-note 1

⁴ For the dates of Kannaḍa authors I have mainly followed *Kavacarita* I-III

Pārsvapaṇḍita, in his *Pārsvanāthapurāṇa* (A.D. 1205), praises the courageous monk Jaṭ-ācārya in the following verse¹ which is somewhat obscure

बिदिरपोदर् तोलेयेने तू-
गिदोद्याबिदिजिनमुनिप-जटाचार्यं वे-
येद वेपु गेल्दुदु पस
गेदलुकेयेनेनिस्त्रि नेगेदुमिगे सोगयिसिदं ॥ I 14.

Janna (A D 1209) in his *Anāntanāthapurāṇa* (Ed , Mysore 1930) refers to Jaṭā-Simhanandī-ācārya as one who has spread the excellent religion both among the princes and peasants in the following verse.

आचारोचित-संयमोपकरण-व्युत्पादकं गृध्रपि-
छाचार्यं चतुरंगुलोद्गमस्वर् धीप्रमर् कौडकुं-
दाचार्यं नृपभृत्यवर्धितसुधर्मर् श्रीजटासिंहण-
द्याचार्यं दयैगेय्वर केमगे शुद्धाचारसंपत्तियं ॥ I 13

In verses Nos 14-6 Janna mentions the names of Bhūtabālī, Puspadanta, Jinasena, Virasena, Samantabhadra, Gunabhadra, Pūjyapāda and Akalanka and the 17th verse is a Tripadī which runs thus

वैगर् जटासिंहणद्याचार्यादीन्द्र
णद्याचार्यादिमुनिपराकाणूर्गण-
वैद्यपृथिवियोज्ज्वलं ॥ I. 17

Janna suggests here that Jaṭā-Simhanandī belonged to Kāṇūrgana, but this cannot be taken seriously for the following reasons Though the origin and history of this Gana are not satisfactorily worked out, the earliest mention of K(r) ānūrgana, so far as I know, is found in the Bandalike inscription of c A D 1074² Janna's statement is not a contemporary evidence, because he flourished some centuries later than Jaṭā-Simhanandī We have seen above that one Simhanandī of Kānūrgana is mentioned in an inscription of the first quarter of the 12th century A D From this it is not in any way unlikely that Janna associated Jaṭā-Simhanandī with Kāṇūrgana Guṇavarma II (c A D 1230), in his *Puṣpadantapurāṇa*, (Ed , Madras 1933), calls Jaṭā-Simhanandī a *munī-pungava*, i e , a prominent monk ; and tells us that no one could equal him in his pursuit of right path The verse in question runs thus.

नडेवळ्योळ तन्न समं
बडेदारं नडेवरिल्ल गडमेतेवेयुं ।
नुडियुं नडेदुवो पदुळिके-
येडेगे जटासिंहणंदि मुनिपुंगवना ॥ I. 29.

¹ This verse was kindly supplied to me by Pt D L NARASIMHACHAR from a Ms. of that work in the Oriental Library, Mysore

² E C VII Shikarpur No 221.

Kamalabhava (c A D 1235) in his *Śāntīvarapurāṇa* (Ed., Mysore 1912) compliments Jaṭā-Simhanandī as an outstanding preceptor

कार्यविद्वद्भ्यः-

चार्य-जटासिंहनंदि नामोदामा-

चार्यवरगृध्रपिच्छा-

चार्यर चरणारविन्दुंदस्तोत्रे ॥ I 19.

Mahābalakavi (A D 1254) in his *Nēmunāthapurāṇa*¹ refers to the marvellous influence of the world-famous Jaṭā-Simhanandī in the following verse

चेर्यपरगृध्रपिच्छा-

चार्यर जटासिंहनंदि जगतीख्याता-

चार्यर प्रभावमस्या-

अर्थमदं पोगळवड्डज्जंगमसाध्यं ॥ I 14

Besides these references mere Simhanandī is mentioned by Aggaḷa (A D 1189) in his *Candraprabhāpurāṇa* (Ed , Mysore 1901), by Kumudendu (c A D 1275) in his *Rāmāyana* (Ed , Kolhapur 1936) and by Nāgarāja (A D 1331) in his *Punyāśīava*, but we have no evidence to identify this Simhanandī with Jaṭā-Simhanandī in the absence of the qualifying term Jaṭā

Kōppaḷa (Nizam state) was once a famous cultural centre, it was held in high respect by the Jainas of medieval India, and to-day it is a place of great antiquarian interest especially due to numerous inscriptions including that of Aśoka² On the hill Pālki Gundu adjoining Kōppaḷa, just near the Aśokan inscription, we have a pair of foot-prints, and just below that, an inscription of two lines in Old-Kannada informs us that Cāvayya prepared (i e , got carved) those foot-prints of Jaṭāsiṅganandī-ācārya³ It is usual with Jainas to commemorate great persons by preparing foot-prints like this especially on the spot where the monks etc , breathed their last or where their last remains were consigned to flames Such spots, often with some structure on them, are known as Nisidi⁴ Kōppaḷa or Kopaṇa was not only a great town but a holy place as well which was specially visited by Jaina monks for their Samnyāsa-marana i e , the Jaina monks spent their last days there and voluntarily submitted to death The foot-prints indicate that Jaṭā-Simhanandī breathed his last at Kōppaḷa I am inclined to identify our author with him for the following reasons The name Jaṭā-Simhanandī, which distinguishes him from other Simhanandīs, is there, various references to him in Kannaḍa literature point to the fact that he belonged possibly to Karnāṭaka, which in the days of Nṛpatuṅga, extended from the

¹ This work is not published as yet Mr D L NARASIMHACHAR kindly sent this verse to me from a Ms of that work in the Oriental Library, Mysore

² N B. SHASTRI 'Kopaṇa-Koppaḷa' in the *Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Parishat-patrike*, Vol XXII, 111, pp 138-54

³ C R KRISHNAMA CHARLU *The Kannada Inscriptions of Koppāl*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series No 12, Hyderabad 1935 The photograph of the Inscription is reproduced elsewhere in this volume with the kind permission of the Director of Archaeology, Nizam's Government (his letter No 1399 Dated 22-4-1937)

⁴ See my note on this word in the *Annals of the B O R I* Vol XIV, p 264.

veri to the Gōdāvari, and lastly many prominent saints like Kumārasēna were specially racted to Kopana in their last days, so it is likely that our author also came there for Sallekhanāmarana

From the above references we can get some glimpses of Jātā-Simhanandī's personality it impressed the later minds Jātā-Simhanandī belonged possibly to Karnāṭaka He s endowed with the genius of a poet, and was 'a courageous monk of perfect religious iduct' His was an 'outstanding personality of great reputation' As expected of a na monk, he wandered over different parts of the country and preached religious trines amongst 'princes and peasants' Almost uniformly he is styled as an Ācārya, , the Preceptor who admits and initiates the novices in the ascetic order His status of Ācārya would indicate that he lived a fruitful religious life and passed away, possibly i ripe age, by observing Sallekhanā at Kopana which was considered to be a holy place, l by his remains he added further to its religious sanctity

5 HIS DATE AND OTHER WORKS

In the light of the references noted above it is not in any way difficult to put a later it to the age of Jātā-Simhanandī Dates of the authors who refer to him are pretty imite Noting them chronologically, Mahābalakavi (A D 1254), Kamalabhava (c A D 5), Gunavarma (c A D 1230), Janna (A D 1209), Pārśvapandita (A D 1205) and Nayasēna o 1112) mention his name In the 11th century Dhavala refers to Jatila as well as to *Varāṅgacarita* In the 10th century Cāmundarāya refers to him and draws a quotation m his work, and forty years earlier than that, *Āḍipurāna* of Pampa refers to Jātācārya the 9th century Jināsena II praises the poetic flash of Jātācārya in his *Āḍipurāna* ich was begun about A D 838 In the 8th century Jināsena I refers to *Varāṅgacarita* us *Harivamśapurāna* that was completed in A D 783 and just five years earlier than t, in A D 778, Uddyotanasūri refers to Jatila and also to his *Varāṅgacarita* From se facts it is quite certain that Jātā-Simhanandī must have flourished earlier than D 778 Thus at the beginning of the last quarter of the 8th century A D *rāṅgacarita* was a famous work both in the South and the North and both among tāmbara and Digambara writers To account for this wide circulation of this work l his fame, we shall have to allow some period between Jatila and Uddyotana in view the travelling and transit conditions of early medieval India

It is to be highly regretted that Jātā does not refer to any earlier author or work, act we get no definite clue from this work which would put an earlier limit to his age e entire range of Jaina dogmatics was stereotyped much earlier, and there has not been ch advance in later days by way of evolution in the principles etc Many of the earlier ts are lost beyond recovery Under such circumstances one has to be extremely cautious drawing chronological conclusions based on similar passages dealing with dogmatical ails However a few indications may be noted here:

(i) The dogmatical sections, viewed as a whole, immediately remind us of *Tattvār-sūtra* of Umāsvāti It is quite likely that a preacher like Jatila would freely draw upon tandard work like *T sūtra* and expose the contents in his work The comparison, ich I have drawn below, leaves the impression that *Varāṅgacarita* presupposes *Tatt-thasūtra*

(ii) *Varāṅgacarita* xxvi 82-83 closely resemble and remind me of *Savyambhū-stotra*¹ Samantabhadra Nos 102-3

¹ Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā, Vol I, Bombay 1905.

(iii) It may be noted that *Varāṅgacarita* xxvi 99 reminds me of *Āvśyaka-niryuktā* I 22¹. The idea expressed in this verse is quite popular and current. So one should not insist on direct borrowing.

(iv) From the following comparison it is quite plain that Jātīla is closely following some important discussions so nicely set forth by Siddhasena in his *Sanmati-prakarana* (Ahmedabad Samvat 1987). *Varāṅgacarita* xxvi. 52, 53, 54-55, 57-58, 60, 61-63, 64-65, 69, 70-71, and 72 may be respectively compared with *Sanmati* i. 6, i. 9, i. 11-2, i. 17-8, i. 21, i. 22-5, i. 51-52, iii. 47, iii. 54-55, iii. 53. Siddhasena's *Sanmati prakarana* has wielded great influence on many later writers. Virasena and Jinasena freely quote from that work in *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā* commentaries, and Jinasena has paid great compliments to Siddhasena's poetic talents at the beginning of his *Ādipurāṇa* (I 39). It is not unlikely that Jātīla also has drawn material from *Sanmati*. Parallels are so close and significant that there can be hardly any doubt that Jātīla is following Siddhasena. The suggestion that Siddhasena might be indebted to Jātīla has to be dismissed, for quite apparent reasons, without a second's thought.

(v) The definition of Sāmāyika given in *Varāṅgacarita* xv 122 is the one which is found in the Sanskrit *Sāmāyikapāṭha* which is quite popular in the Jaina community, but the author of which is not at all known. In some printed editions and in many Mss it is found with *Databhakti*. Tradition attributes Prākṛit Bhaktis to Kundakunda and Sanskrit ones to Pūjyapāda². It is probable that Pūjyapāda may be the author of this verse, though it is not unlikely that a verse like this might be older still³.

The dates of the above authors are not finally settled. Samantabhadra can be assigned to c. 2nd century A.D. Relative chronology of Jaina authors gives us the impression that Umāsvātī preceded Samantabhadra. On the date of Siddhasena there is no agreement between different scholars, the latest period assigned to him is 7th century A.D.,⁴ though it is quite likely that he flourished a century or two earlier. As to the age of Pūjyapāda, he lived earlier than the last quarter of 5th century A.D. All these dates are such that they cannot put a definite earlier limit to the age of Jātīla. It appears to me highly probable that Jātīla's time cannot be put earlier than 7th century A.D. Taking both the limits into account I conclude, so far as the present material is concerned, that Jātīsimhanandī flourished at the close of the 7th century A.D.

On palaeographic grounds the Kōppaḷa inscription,⁵ which records the name of

¹ *Sanmatiprakaraṇam* (Gujarāṭa-Purātattva-Mandira, Ahmedabad Samvat 1987), p. 756. The idea contained in this verse is quite popular. Śrutasaṅgāra in his Sanskrit commentary of *Ṣaṭ-Prābhīṭa* (Mēṇikachandra D. J. G., Bombay Samvat 1977) quotes two such verses on pp. 25-6.

² A. N. UPADHYE, *Pravacanasāra* Intro. p. 26.

³ *Varāṅgacarita* reads *samyamaḥ śubhabhāvanā* and *sāmāyikam vratam* for the usual *samyame śubhabhāvanā* and *sāmāyikavratam*.

⁴ *Pravacanasāra* Intro. p. 100 foot-note 4.

⁵ *The Kannaḍa Inscriptions of Koppaḷ* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 12) by C. R. KRISHNAMA CHARLU is a well edited monograph with the necessary illustrations of inscriptions etc. We earnestly request the Director of Archaeology, Nizam's Government, to bring to light other epigraphic records plenty of which, we are told, are scattered all over the Nizam's territory. In this monograph there are some minor errors which may be noted here in the interest of epigraphic studies. *Sanyāsanaṁ=nāntu mudāpīḍa* in line 4 of the Inscription No. 2, on p. 7, appears to be translated as 'having vowed renunciation' completed (the *vrate*)' but it should be rendered as 'died or ended his life after accepting (the

Jaṭāsīmhanandī with whom I have already identified our author¹; its Editor opines, 'may be assigned to about 10th century A D' As it is put, it is a proposed conjecture without any attempt at proof. Dating by palaeography is bound to be a matter of probability and to make the results definite one has to invoke the aid of other evidences. The inference from the characters of the record is not as definite—and this is all the more true in the case of Kannada characters—as the evidence which I have adduced above for the date of Jaṭāsīmhanandī.² As a layman I think that the period of the inscription can be pushed back by a century or two, *ca, cā, vā, pa* etc., are quite similar to those in an inscription of A D 881 from the same locality, *ja* shows some modernness, but other letters can go to a sufficiently early period, I leave, however, this matter to expert epigraphists. If they find that the age of the Kōppaḷa inscription cannot be taken to the 8th century A D. on any account, then here is the alternative either the author of *Varāṅgacarita* may not be identified with Jaṭāsīmhanandī of the inscription, or the place was already famous as the spot of the Samādhī-maraṇa of Jaṭāsīmhanandī and after some time a zealous house-holder commemorated the spot by carving the foot-prints and recorded that he carved them. The evidences about the age of *Varāṅgacarita* are so definite and the reasons to identify its author with Jaṭāsīmhanandī of the inscription are so probable that I would be inclined to accept the second alternative. The wording of the inscription also is quite favourable, because it predominantly refers to the carving of the foot-prints. *Varāṅgacarita* is an amateur production, so Jatila might have composed it earlier in his life. The probability of the second alternative can be appreciated by supposing that Jatila died in ripe old age and the proposed date of the inscription can be pushed back by a century or two.

Besides *Varāṅgacarita* no other work of this author is discovered as yet. Enthusiastic handling of Sanskrit language, exhibition of learned discourses in and out of time and wide parade of dogmatical details perhaps indicate that *Varāṅgacarita* is an amateur production of the early career of Jatila when he had just finished his schooling and what he had studied in Jaina texts and other works was still fresh in his mind. It is not unlikely that Jaṭila, with his excellent grounding in Jaina dogmatics, might have composed some treatises discussing Jaina principles. This conjecture is occasioned by a quotation in *Amṛtāśīti*³ a didactic work attributed to one Yogīndra the verse, which is plainly ascribed to Jaṭāsīmhanandī and which is not found in our *Varāṅgacarita*, runs thus

जटासिंहनद्याचार्यवृत्तम्-

तावत्क्रियाः प्रवर्तन्ते यावद् द्वैतस्य गोचरम् ।

अद्वये निष्कले प्राप्ते निष्क्रियस्य कुतः क्रिया ॥

As long as this verse is not traced in any other work, we should proceed with the hypothesis that Yogīndra is quoting from some other work of Jaṭāsīmhanandī, which has not come to light as yet.

vow of) Sanyāsa (-maraṇa)' Similar expressions are found in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa Inscriptions (EC II, Nos 8-9, 17-18, 20, 24-25 etc., of the Revised Ed 1923). On p 9 the Editor, it appears, take Ingimmarāṇa as the name of a place, but it is not correct. Ingimmarāṇa or Ingitammarāṇa is a variety of Sanyāsamaraṇa, and its characteristics are described in texts like *Bhagavati Arādhana* of Śivārya. See also Sacred Books of the East, Vols XXII and XLV, Jaina Sūtras Part I, p 72, and part II, p 176.

¹ See p 164 above.

² Jaṭāsīmhanandī of Koppāl Inscription No. 6 should not be confused with Śrī-Sīmhanandī of No. 7 of the same place for the simple reason that the latter has not got the designation Jaṭā.

³ Māṇikachandra D J Granthamālā, Vol 21, p 98, verse No, 67,

6. VARĀNGACARITA. A CRITICAL STUDY

(1) ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS

The work opens with a salutation to Arhat, his Dharma and his omniscient knowledge. Then follows a short discourse on the nature of Kathā-prabandha, the Teacher and the Pupil.

King Dharmasena of the Bhoja family was ruling in Uttamapura on the bank of Ramyātata in the territory of Vinīta Guṇavatī, who was the prominent queen among his three hundred wives, gave birth to a son who was called Varāṅga (i). Dharmasena in consultation with his ministers married Varāṅga to ten princesses from great families (ii). Once Varadatta, the chief disciple of Arista Nemi, came to Uttamapura, and Dharmasena devotionally waited on him with all the members of the retinue. Varadatta delivered to the audience various religious sermons on the following topics: Dharma and Scripture (iii), Karma with its sub-divisions as the cause of Samsāra (iv), the World and its dimensions and the hellish existence (v), the sub-human birth (vi), the human world (vii-viii), the celestial grade of existence (ix), and Liberation (x). On an inquiry from Varāṅga, Varadatta explained Mithyātva and Samyaktva and the prince accepted from him the Anuvratas (xi). Later on king Dharmasena appointed Varāṅga as the heir apparent to the throne, which incident gave rise to jealousy in the minds of his step-mother Mrgasenā and her son Susena, who, in their plot, were promised assistance by the minister Subuddhi to procure the throne for Susena after somehow getting rid of Varāṅga. Subuddhi appeared like a faithful minister, but he was always waiting for an opportunity to overthrow Varāṅga. Once he trained two horses, one in a proper way and the other in an inverse manner, and arranged the exhibition of his training in such a way that Varāṅga mounted the inversely trained horse, was carried away into a dense forest, and was thrown off by that rash horse which fell in a well. Wandering like an ordinary man, Varāṅga faced manifold difficulties in the forests. He escaped from the jaws of a tiger with the aid of an elephant (xii). He could escape the grip of a crocodile with the divine help of a Yaksī who taking the shape of a beautiful damsel tried to tempt him, but to her satisfaction he was firm in his vow of celibacy, i.e., fidelity to wedded life, which he had accepted from the saint Varadatta. Then he was imprisoned by hunters, but soon he was released when he cured their Chief's son who was bitten by a serpent (xiii). Once by fighting successfully against Bhillas, he obliged Sāgarabuddhi, the leader of the caravan of merchants, and with him he came to Lalitapura where he lived as Kaścidbhata without disclosing his real name and identity. He stayed there like the son of Sāgarabuddhi and was soon installed as the Head of merchants (xiv). This unexpected loss of Varāṅga caused great sorrow to his father, mother and his wives, who, on hearing the religious discourses of a monk, began to spend their time piously (xv). Once again Kaścidbhata made himself famous by giving a crushing defeat to the king of Mathurā, who out of sheer greed and vanity, marched against the king of Lalitapura (xvi-xviii). Varāṅga married the royal princess and got half of the kingdom. He was firm in his fidelity to married life despite the temptations of Manoramā whom he married later on (xix). Brother Susena, who was looking after the kingdom of his father, proved very weak, and his father had to invoke the aid of the king of Lalitapura. Varāṅga took this opportunity, gave a crushing defeat to Bakuleśvara who was marching against his father, and entered his paternal town to the joy of all (xx). He forgave all his offenders, and requested his father to allow him to conquer fresh territories and to

establish a new kingdom in the construction of which he would have ample scope for his military exploits. He founded a new kingdom with the well-planned town of Ānartapura as its metropolis on the banks of river Sarasvatī. The old territory he divided amongst various people. He enjoyed varied pleasures in different seasons surrounded by his rich harem (xxi). In response to the question of his chief queen he described to her the duties of lay-followers, and consequently a temple was built and the images of Jina were erected in a great religious pomp (xxii-xxiii). To silence the questions of his ministers, Varāṅga exposed the flaws of heretical schools of philosophy and convinced them of the authority of Jina and his doctrines (xxiv-xxv). In order to enlighten the members of the audience, he delivered a lengthy discourse on Jaina dogmatics and mythology (xxvi-xxvii). A son Sugātra was born to him by his queen Anupamā. One day the sight of a falling star made him indifferent to the world and its temporary pleasures. He convinced Sāgarabuddhi and his father that it was the time for him now to enter the ascetic order and perform penances for the attainment of liberation. They too were converted to his view and enlightened (xxviii). He gave a parting advice to prince Sugātra and entered the order of monks accompanied by his queen in the presence of Varadatta, who gave them many an instruction. The prince Sugātra was put on the throne. The queens performed severe penances and reached higher worlds. Varāṅga conquered passions etc., gradually subdued the internal and external foes, and attained Sarvārthasiddhi by a meditation of a very high order (xxix-xxxi).

(ii) A DHARMA-KATHĀ WITH KĀVYA FEATURES

From the outline of the contents noted above it is plain that the threads of the story are not in any way intricate. It deals with the life of Varāṅga who belonged to the age of Neminātha and Kṛṣṇa. Jealousy of the step-mother, wanderings of the hero in the forest and the final restoration of the kingdom—these are some points in the story which remind the reader of Rāma's story.

In the colophons *Varāṅgacarita* is uniformly called a *dharma-kathā* which, according to Haribhadra's definition¹ is full of religious topics. Though the title *Mahākāvya* is never used by the author, we find here many of the conventional characteristics of a *Mahākāvya*². The work is divided into Sargas or Cantos. It opens with a salutation to *Ratnatraya* consisting of Arhat, Dharma and Omniscience. The story belongs to Jaina tradition, Varāṅga, the hero, being a contemporary of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthakara. The author plainly tells us that the story illustrates the fruition of four-fold ends, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa (i 22 the Anustubh verse in the colophons and also xxix 36). The hero possesses the necessary virtues. Among the descriptions required in a *Mahākāvya* we find here the descriptions of cities (i 32-45, xxi 32-49, xxiii 48 ff.) seasonal pleasures (xxii 9-20, xxiv 4-9), sports and love festivities (ii 89 ff., xix 32-9, xxiv 1-14), sentiment of love-in-separation (xix 40-61), marriages (ii 57-73, xix 12-26), birth and rise of princes (xxviii 1-13), state counsel (ii 14-33, xvi 49-74), embassy (xvi 10 ff.), advance (xvii 9-25), battle (xiv 8 ff., xvii 36-86, xviii 1-110) and triumph (xviii 110-30). Various classical metres are used in different cantos which are closed with stanzas composed in metres other than the one used throughout the canto. Very often the concluding verses of one canto suggest the theme of the next (iii 63, iv 114, viii 69, ix 62 etc.)

¹ *Samarāṅgacakāḥ*, p. 2 (Bibliotheca Indica No. 169)

² *Kāvya-darśa* i, 13-20.

Varāṅga is a hero possessed of great religious virtues. Like a true man of the world, he never fails to fulfil his duties as a prince, as a king etc. His virtues are tested in manifold adversities, physical and mental, and he overcomes them all like a noble man. His fight is twofold: external, against the enemies of this world; and internal, against Karmic forces. And at last he is triumphant in every respect. The number of cantos is thirty-one, though the convention needs that it should not exceed thirty. Though different sentiments find place in this composition, it is the atmosphere of renunciation that pervades the whole work.

(iii) DOGMATICAL DETAILS IN VARĀṆGACARITA

Aśvaghoṣa imprints into his works many details about Buddhistic ethics and dogmatics, and in fact he makes no secret of the purpose which led to his adopting the Kāvya form. Liberation or Mokṣa is the highest aim, but this is not realised by many, so he wants to preach this truth in an attractive garb of a poem¹. If it is so in the case of an artist like Aśvaghoṣa, we should not be surprised if a monk like Jātīla makes his poem a regular platform for preaching the religious and didactic details. Many cantos have been solely devoted to such details, and this would be clear to the readers from the following analysis of the contents of such cantos.

- Canto iv** Karman and its Primary and Secondary types 1-38, their maximum and minimum periods 39-41, the causes of bondage of different Karmas and their fruits 42-104, and the relation between Jīva and Karman etc. 105-14
- Canto v** Figuration and dimensions of the Universe with the three enveloping Winds 1-8, five states of existence 9, the hell and its regions with their dimensions and climatic conditions etc. 9-24, the sinners that go to hell 25-29, multifarious tortures in hells 30-101, the illustration of Kṣudramatsya 102-3, and the periods of life in different hells etc. 104-110
- Canto vi** Varieties of sub-human birth and the miseries therein 1-32, those that go to sub-human birth 33-37, figuration and the duration of life 38-44, and the families and Yonis therein 45-53
- Canto vii** Human birth in Bhogabhūmī 1-13, ten wish-fulfilling trees 14-23, those that go to Bhogabhūmī 24-27, Dāna, its varieties and fruits 28-54, and the physical characteristics and pleasures etc. in Bhogabhūmī 55-67
- Canto viii** Human birth in Karmabhūmī 1-4, rarity of human birth dedicated to religious practices 5-27, description of the demeritorious and meritorious 28-59, and the nature of body and the need of religious life 60-69
- Canto ix** Heavenly beings and heavens 1-24, those that are destined to go to heaven 25-36, birth, physique, pleasures etc., of the gods 37-54, and their periods of life etc. 55-62
- Canto x** Dimensions and description of Liberation 1-10, those that are destined to go to liberation 11-28, special characteristics etc. of liberated souls 29-42, and the happiness of Siddhas which is developed after the destruction of Karmas 43-64

¹ *Saundarananda*, XVIII, 64

Canto xxvi: Nature of the Substance with its six kinds 1-5; Jīva or Principle of life 6-13, Pudgala or matter 14-22, Dharma, Adharma, Ākāśa and Kāla 23-32, additional remarks on the substances 33-44, Pramāṇa and Naya 45-75; Anekāntavāda or Syādvāda 76-90, and the importance of Right Faith among the three Jewels 91-107

Canto xxvii Time, Numbers etc 1-30, Sixty-three Kāraṇa Mānuṣas 31-32, 16 Manus 32-6, 24 Tīrthakaras 37-39, 12 Cakravartins 40-41; 9 Vāsudevas and 9 Prativāsudevas 42-44, Contemporary Tīrthakaras of the Cakravartins 45-48, the height, period of life etc of Tīrthakaras etc 49-65, the previous celestial regions from which they came and were born as Tīrthakaras 66-70, and their fathers, mothers, donors, places of birth, family, colour, Gotra and the places of liberation 71-94

These nine Cantos have no connection whatsoever with the main current of the story, and the narration of the events is not going to suffer even if these cantos are omitted. There is no doubt that Jaṭila introduces these cantos merely to preach the details of Jaina dogmatics. These sections exhibit not only his religious zeal but also his extensive study of Jaina doctrines.

Varāṅgacarita is not a philosophical treatise but only a Purāṇic Kāvya, so all such discourses are intruders here. In some cases it is possible for us to detect the probable sources from which Jaṭila might have drawn his material. Many verses from *Varāṅgacarita* remind us of some of the Sūtras from *Tattvārthasūtras* of Umāsvāti. *Varāṅgacarita* iv 2-9, 11, 15-23, 24-38, 39-41, 42, 43-44, 49-56, 57-58, 62-65 and 93-103 closely agree with *Tattvārthasūtra* viii 3-6, i 15, i 21-23, 29, viii 7-13 (with *Sarvārthasiddhi*), viii 14-20, viii 1, vi 10, viii 7, vi 11-12, vi 13-4, vi 15-27 respectively. Similar parallels can be detected in other cantos as well. Some verses agree with the Gāthās of Kundakunda also. As shown above many verses from canto xxvi closely follow the gāthās from *Sanmatiprakaraṇa*¹

Dogmatical details, usually ethical in character, are met with in different contexts of the story. Relation between Jīva and Karman and the cause of misery and happiness iii 38-63, Samyaktva and Mithyātva xi 1-34, Suicide denounced xv 63 ff, Nature of Samsāra xv 75-105, Dharma consisting of twelve vows and its fruit xv 106-46, Duties of a householder and the importance of Jina-Pūjā and the construction of a temple xxii 27-79, Twelfefold reflection and the nature of Samsāra xxviii 31-56, Mahāvratas, their Bhāvanās, Samitis, Guptis and twelfefold reflection xxxi 75-98. The introduction of such details testifies to the fact that Jaṭila is predominantly a religious teacher and preacher.

(iv) POLEMIC DISCUSSIONS

In places more than one Jaṭila shows polemical tendencies. Various doctrines of different schools are criticised, and in conclusion the doctrines of Jainism are upheld. The text, in such contexts, is much corrupt, and to get at the correct interpretation one has to wait for better Ms. material. According to different theorists Purusa, Išvara, Kāla, Karman, Daiva, Graha, Niyoga, Svabhāva, Niyata etc., are considered as the cause of the destruc-

¹ See p. 166 above.

tion, stability and origination of the world (xxiv 17) Against these one-sided views Jaṭila drives his attack Neither Daiva (? Niyoga) nor Deva can control the affairs of man Oblations etc are really eaten by the crow, and how can a god, who is so much greedy about the sacrifice, fulfil the wishes of others (xxiv 22-27)? As there are so many irregularities and untimely occurrences in the affairs of the world, Kāla cannot be accepted as the controlling agency (ibid 28-30) It is a sheer self-deception to believe that Planets can do good or bad, if they have such a power, how is it that they themselves suffer? If they can do good, how do we explain the facts that Rāma lost his wife, Rāvaṇa lost everything, Balī (n) was punished by Murāri, Kāmadeva was burnt by Pinākin, Maghavan was cursed by Gautama, Dharaṇīsuta (Grahārājah) was bound down by Rāvaṇa, and that Sun and Moon are troubled by planets (apparently when their stars were good) (ibid 31-6) It is illogical to accept Īśvara as the ruler of the world (ibid 37) Svabhāva cannot govern everything, for the visible facts in this world do not warrant such a view (ibid 38-40) It is disastrous to accept Niyati as the cause (ibid 41) If Purusa were the cause, all pious acts would be fruitless (ibid 42-3) *Sūnyavāda* would reduce *Vijñapti* to negation, and then what wise man would remain there to uphold negative view (ibid 44-5)? Further the views that everything is momentary or eternal do not stand to reason, because they are not self-consistent (ibid 46-7) The doctrine of *Pratītyasiddhi* too is not warranted (ibid 48-50) The view that all the souls are shaped by Paramēsthī is not tenable whether he is all-pervading or occupies a finger, his position is not satisfactory (ibid 51-2) These views are not absolutely valid, but they are partial view-points They become significant when they are evaluated according to and qualified by Anekānta (ibid 60-61) It is the Karman which is responsible for the ups and downs of Ātman in Samsāra (ibid 54 ff, 62 ff)

In canto xxv Jaṭila wonders how a theist can defend the manifold Gotras, and attacks the distinction of Varna based on birth (1-11) Criticising the priests, he attacks the sacrificial Himsā Harm unto living beings is a great sin That the victim sacrificed goes to heaven could have been accepted, only if the relatives of the priest were sacrificed instead If Vedic sacrifice leads to heaven, one does not know who are to go to hell The followers of Svayambhā (Vēlabha) have preached that three years old seeds should be offered as oblation A single false worded Vasu to the seventh hell, and it is such a man who is respected by Dvijas Madhupingala went down to hell due to remunerative hankering (*mdāna*), therefore Vedas which have such associations do not deserve any respect at all If king Krūra went to hell by offending a Vipra, how is it that these priests who are killing so many beasts in sacrifice, do not go to hell? Happiness cannot result by inflicting pain on others (12-27) It is a degradation of Brāhminhood that priests should go to the royal gates like beggars Despite the alleged efficacy of their words and rituals, there are manifold mishaps and miseries in this world Brāhminhood does not depend on mere birth, but it depends on one's being endowed with knowledge, chastity and virtues Through the strength of righteousness and penance Vyāsa, Vasistha, Kamalha, Śakti, Udgama, Drona and Parāara could attain Brāhminhood (28-44) A touch of anything belonging to Śankara is condemned, but Gaṅgā becomes pure by resting on his head If the water of Gangā has a purificatory effect, how is it that her son Bahīem suffered like that at the close of his life (45-50)? Great persons performed penance in certain places, and thereby those spots became holy Kārtikeya performed his penance in Svāmigra (?), Kumārī at the Southern point, Bhāgīrathī became holy due to Bhāgīratha and Kurukīetra due to Kuru Laksmī performed penance at Śrīparvata, Puṣkara at Śrīpuṣkara,

Veśabha at Kailāsa and Ariṣṭa Nemi at Ujjayanta (51-59). In conclusion, with a view, to establish the Āptatva of Jina (86 ff) the author mentions certain objectionable acts and traits of gods like Rudra, Agni, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Indra, Kumāra and Buddha (76-85).

The attack on Kālavāda and other views (xxiv 17 ff), referred to above, reminds us of *Svetasvatopaniṣad* 1.2 and *Sanmatiprakaraṇa* iii 53. Aśvaghoṣa also refers to these heterodox opinions in his *Saundarananda* xvi. 17 and *Buddhacarita*¹ ix 46-7, 48-52 (Svabhāva), 53 (Iśvaravāda), also note xvi 18-27 etc. Possibly the Anekāntavāda of Jainism is attacked by Aśvaghoṣa in *Buddhacarita* xvi 24. Jaṭila, however, attacks Kṣāṇikavāda, Śūnyavāda and Pratityasamutpāda of Buddhism, the last of which is explained and upheld by Aśvaghoṣa in *Buddhacarita* xvi 28-43. The attack on non-Jaina deities breathes the same spirit as that expressed by Pātrakesari in his Stotra.²

(v) SOME DETAILS VIEWED IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND

As I understand the implication of his various statements, Jaṭilamuni holds before us a pretty prosperous picture of Jainism in the South. His attack on the heterodox schools of thought is quite vigorous (xxiv 21-53). He denounces quite enthusiastically the various non-Jaina deities (xxv 74-98), the sacerdotal religion of Vedas, priestly rituals (ibid 12-49, 60-70) and the Brāhmanic order of society (ibid 1-11). He taunts the priests how they are often turned away from the royal gates and their burning wrath has no effect whatsoever on the kings (ibid 30-33). He sketches the pictures of gorgeous Jaina temples in which images of precious stone are erected and Pūjās are conducted on a large scale with multifarious rituals (xvi 136 ff, xviii 57 ff, xv 139, xxiii 17 ff). The merit of building temples, erecting images and conducting Pūjās is highly glorified (xxii 46 ff). We are told that scenes from Purāṇas are painted or carved on the walls of temples, and the picture-scrolls are also referred to (xxii 61 ff, xxiii 93). It is interesting to note that Jaṭila refers to royal gifts of villages and human services etc., to the temples (xxiii 91).

The facts noted above are not without significance, if they are looked at in the light of what we know about Jainism in the South between A.D. 650 and 750 which dates roughly circumscribe the age of Jaṭilamuni who flourished in Kārnāṭaka. This period corresponds with the rule of Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. By about A.D. 630 Pulikeśi II, the conqueror of Harṣavardhana, was the most powerful king that had subjected many a neighbouring state³. He suffered defeat at the hands of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman of Kāñci in A.D. 642, but his son Vikramāditya I inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallavas and restored the fallen fortunes of his family in A.D. 655. The Pallava opposition was quieted very well by Vikramāditya II in A.D. 740. In this Chālukya period Jainism was very much patronised and it was gradually gaining influence. It was in A.D. 634 that Ravikīrti, who had acquired the greatest favour of Pulikeśi II, built the Meguti temple and recorded the erection of it in the famous Aihōlī Inscription which has supplied definite later limit

¹ I have repeatedly used the model Eds. of *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita* Parts I and II (Panjab University Publications) by DR. E. H. JOHNSTON. His excellent introduction to *Buddhacarita*, part II, which is a monument of deep and critical study, has been of much help to me in my study of *Varaṅga-carita*. All my references to the text of *Buddhacarita* are, however, to COWELL'S Ed. (Oxford 1893) unless otherwise stated.

² Māṇikachandra D. J. G., Vol. 13, pp. 100-130.

³ V. A. SMITH *Early History of India* (3rd Ed.) p. 452 ff, B. L. RICE *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, London 1909, C. JAYAVADAN RAO *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, etc.

to the age of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi¹ Some villages are granted to the temple at the close of the record Grants to the Jaina community have been made by the later kings also²

Kadambas of Banavāsi suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Chālukya king Pulikeśi II, and from A D 607 onwards there is a short blank period in the Kadamba history Later on the territory of Banavāsi came under Ālūpa kings Jainism enjoyed a good deal of patronage under Kadamba kings, especially Mrgeśavarman (A D 475-490) and others 'Moreover the state of Jaina temples, the ceremonies that were performed in them as mentioned in some inscriptions, and the liberal grants of the kings to meet the expenses of those ceremonies, show that Jainism was really a popular religion in the Kadamba empire and that there were many people who were worshippers of Jinendra'³ Jainism was becoming a serious rival of Śaivism, it 'grew unchecked during the supremacy of Kadambas' and 'received fresh stimulus in the time of Rāshtrakūṭas'⁴ We do not know the persuasion of Ālūpas, but as the Chālukyas were favourable to Jainism, the religion appears to have maintained its status which it had under the Kadambas even after their fall At the close of the 7th century A D Gaṅgas, who ruled at Gangavādī, appear to have been subordinated by the Chālukyan king Vinayāditya Ganga dynasty was founded under Jaina auspices, and 'Jainism was the state creed in the time of the Gangas, of some of the Rāshtrakūṭas and Kalachūryas and of the Early Hoysalas'⁵

Going Southwards, we have seen above how in this period Chālukyas and Pallavas were fighting Pallava power was much weakened by the middle of the 8th century A D Under the Pallavas Kāñcī was a famous centre for the Jinas, and the names of great authors like Samantabhadra (c 2nd century A D), Akalaṅka (c 7th century A D) and others are associated with Kāñcī The site of Jinakāñcī (i e, Tiruparuttikunrum) is far away from the present sites of Viṣṇu and Śiva Kāñcī, and this possibly indicates that Jainism saw its better days on the soil of Conjeevaram long before Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas came to power It was in the days of Sundara Pāṇḍya that Jainism received a decided set-back which continued under the later Choḷas who were of Śaiva persuasion Before this Chola persecution, 'Digambara Jinas and Jaina temples were numerous in both the Pallava realm (Dravida) and the Pāṇḍya kingdom (Malakūta)', 'when Hsien Tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim visited Southern India in A D 640'⁶

It is in this background of contemporary South Indian history that we have to appreciate the statements of Jātīla Even to-day we come across many ancient Jaina temples, some of them converted and some of them in ruins Jātīla has rightly appealed to the popular zeal of temple-building The idea of the images of precious stones is not a myth, but at Mūḍabidri, Humch etc, we actually see such images carved out of precious stones imported into India from across the seas 'Idol worship and temple building on a grand scale in South India have also to be attributed to Jaina influence'⁷ The royal patronage gave Jinas an opportunity for vigorous and propagandistic attack on the tenets of non-Jainas Many ruling kings gave lands and villages to Jaina temples,

¹ *Indian Antiquary* VIII for 1879, p 237 ff

² *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p 111

³ G. M. MORAES' *The Kadamba Kula* p 35

⁴ *Ibidem*, p 252

⁵ *Mysore and Coorg*, p 203

⁶ *Early History of India*, pp 453-54

⁷ *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 77.

and Jaṭila refers to the gift of 108 villages which may be an exaggeration of the contemporary practice. We have got grants recorded on stone and copper-plates, from Kadamba, Chālukya and other kings. As referred to by Jaṭila we find the tendency of carving pictures on the walls as seen in the temples at Mūḍabīḍṛi and Halebīḍ, and we find wall-paintings in the temple of Tiruparuttikunrum or Jinakāñcī, of course some of them are of much later date. At any rate they indicate the practice. The carvings on the outward walls of the temples of Belūr and Halebīḍ or the wall-paintings in the Mīnākṣī temple of Madura or the wooden carvings (representing the scenes from *Rāmāyana*) in the temple of Padmanābhapuram in Travancore show that the practice of representing the Purāṇic scenes in stone, colour or wood was not special to Jainas but was common to South Indian temple art.

(vi) AŚVAGHOṢA AND JAṬILA

Among the luminaries of Classical Sanskrit like Aśvaghōṣa, Kālidāsa and Bhāravī, it is by Aśvaghōṣa that Jaṭila is much influenced. A comparison of *Varāṅgacarita* with *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacarita* shows many a common point. Aśvaghōṣa as a Buddhist and Jaṭila as a Jaina have much in common. Both of them introduced that ascetic outlook on life. Aśvaghōṣa has the philosophy and ethics of Buddhism in the background, while Jaṭila has those of Jainism. The former freely used various technical terms of Buddhism and the latter those of Jainism. Denunciation of body, advantages of human birth, hollowness of worldly pleasures, relation between Dharma, Artha etc., and other topics are discussed from nearly the same point of view by both the authors. Both of them have a tendency of giving illustration, possibly with a satirical touch, from Brahmanical mythology (*Saundara* vii 25, *Varāṅga* xxv. 78 ff). We have seen above how the attack against certain heretical schools is common to both¹. In *Saundara* xiv we get the routine of life prescribed for a Buddhist monk, similarly the two concluding cantos of *Varāṅgacarita* give a good many details of Jaina asceticism. Buddhist Nirvāṇa is explained in *Sn* xvi, while canto x of *Vc* is devoted to the description of Jaina conception of Mokṣa. The descriptions of hellish² and sub-human tortures are almost alike (*Bc* xiv 10 ff, 22 ff and *Vc* cantos v and vi). There are many common ideas almost similarly expressed (*Sn* iv 9 & 11 and *Vc* xix 37, *Sn* xvi 51 & 66 and *Vc* xxiv 55-6; *Bc* ii 23 and *Vc* xxviii. 9, *Bc* v 37 & ix 41 and *Vc* xxix 17-19, *Bc* viii 76 and *Vc* xv 47, *Bc* ix 45 and *Vc* xxix 59 ff etc.). Aśvaghōṣa uses the simile of the rising sun on the eastern mount twice (*Bc* ii 20, x 15), Jaṭila introduces the Eastern mountain in his similes at least four times (*Vc* ii 69, iii 35, xvii 12 and xxiii 45), and once the simile is worded alike by both (*Bc* x. 15 and *Vc* xvii 12). Aśvaghōṣa has that famous scene where young ladies are witnessing from the lattices the procession in the street (*Bc* iii 19), Kālidāsa has a similar situation with more details better finished (*Raghuvamśa* vii 11), and I think that Jaṭila, in sketching a similar scene (*Vc* xviii 118), perhaps shows acquaintance with Kālidāsa's verse. Though verse No. 118 is not a quite successful imitation of its predecessors, verse No. 119, of which I have not come across any counterpart in *Bc*, is worthy of an artist. In Aśvaghōṣa's story Buddha goes out on the Kanthaka horse, while Varāṅga is carried away by an ill-

¹ See pp 172-73 above

² Such descriptions are found in Jaina texts even earlier than Aśvaghōṣa. Some of them may have been common to Jainism and Buddhism. It is the tendency of introducing such details, which characterises both Aśvaghōṣa and Jaṭila, that may be noted.

trained horse *Varāṅgacarita* has some grammatical peculiarities common with the works of Aśvaghoṣa as noted below. And lastly the title of our work reminds us of *Buddhacarita*¹. All these points taken together give us the impression that Jātīla had possibly studied the works of Aśvaghoṣa, whose compositions, in view of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the South as described by Hiuen Tsang in A.D. 641, might have been available in Southern India, though the Mss. of *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* known to us belong to Northern India. I have not been able to detect any striking similarities between the works of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and *Varāṅgacarita*.

(vii) VARĀṅGACARITA AND LATER JAINA AUTHORS

So far as our knowledge of Jaina literature goes, *Varāṅgacarita* is one of the earliest Jaina poems in Sanskrit written in a semi-epic and semi-kāvya style. *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa was completed in A.D. 677, perhaps this is the only work which may claim priority, though this point is not yet definitely decided, over *Varāṅgacarita* so far as Jaina epic poems in Sanskrit are concerned. There are many Jaina Purāṇas and Kāvyaś in Sanskrit later than *Varāṅgacarita*, but I have not been able to detect Jātīla's influence on later authors to any appreciable extent. It is a matter of surprise that Jātīla is not mentioned by Vādirāja who pays respect to many early authors in his *Pārśvanāthacarita* composed in Śaka 947 (+78=A.D. 1025)². If the scarcity of Mss. is a good indication, we may suppose that *Varāṅgacarita* did not get much circulation actually, even though the fame of Jātīla had spread beyond the bounds of Karnaṭaka. Jināsena, whose reference to Jātīlācārya we have already noted above, has drawn upon *Varāṅgacarita* for a good deal of technical matter which he has produced in his words in *Ādipurāṇa* (c. A.D. 838)³. For instance compare *Vc* 1 6-7 with *Ādi* 1 122-24, *Vc* 1 10-11 with *Ādi* 1 127-30, *Vc* 1 15 with *Ādi* 1 139, *Vc* 1 16 and 14 with *Ādi* 1 143-44. Cāmundarāya, we have seen above, has taken some material from *Varāṅgacarita*. Somadeva (A.D. 959) in his *Yasastilakacampū* (Āśvāsa vii p. 332)⁴ quotes a verse with the phrase *bhavati cātra ślokaḥ*, and it is the same as *Varāṅgacarita* v. 103.

(viii) GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES OF VARĀṅGACARITA

The Ms. material at our disposal is limited, the textual tradition of the poem is unsatisfactory, and now and then we come across plain errors of the copyists. Under these circumstances it is rather premature to note the grammatical peculiarities of *Varāṅgacarita*. Individual occurrences of striking usages cannot be taken into account, if they are not warranted by meter. Leaving full margin for scribal errors etc., I would note only a few salient points here, which, I hope, would be interesting to a student of Sanskrit grammar.

Varāṅgacarita is full of Jaina technical terms many of which with their different shades of significance are not noted in the Sanskrit Dictionaries. The meanings of such words,

¹ I am aware of the fact, however, that there is an earlier Jaina epic *Paṇḍitarit* of Vimalasūri. Whether *Padmacarita* of Raviṣeṇa is earlier or later than *Varāṅgacarita* is still to be decided.

² Māṇikachandra D. J. Granthamālā Vol. 4.

³ See the foot-note No. 1, on p. 161 above.

⁴ Ed. Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay 1903.

however, can be ascertained by referring to standard works on Jaina dogmatics and terminology¹ Some peculiar words which our author uses are *goṇa* vi. 15 'an ox', a word of Prākṛit origin, so also *phulla* ii. 73, *bhūda* xii. 85 and *tumba* xxxi. 32 The word *maithuna* xx. 75 and xxv. 6, which reminds us of Kannada *maiduna* and Marāṭhī *mehunā* is unknown to classical Sanskrit in this sense, and *barkara* xxvii. 17 'a goat' is also rare *addhā* xiv. 95 'time' is quite usual in Jaina Prākṛit texts *tiraśca* for *tiryag* xxiv. 66 reminds us of Prākṛit *tiriccha* or *tiraccha* The author uses *sampadā* also for *sampad*, see xx. 65, 79 and especially xxv. 40 Words like *maḍamba*, *khēḍa* etc. iii. 4 often show a Prākṛitic spelling *krīḍakṛtam* xxx. 57 is a strange Sanskritisation of *kīyagaḍam* = *krītakṛtam* So most of the above words are either Prākṛitisms or backformations *sādana* for *sadana* xxi. 15 *mṛḍvīkā* for *mṛḍvīkā* xxii. 72 and *āvahitā* for *avahitā* xxvii. 1, are irregularities perhaps due to metre

There are some words which attract our attention with regard to their genders. *geha* M., i. 25, xxi. 38, xxii. 66, 73, *krodhotthāna* M., iv. 68, *jala* M. vi. 52, *vṛttānta* N., xv. 1, *aksata* N., xxii. 64. There are other cases like *bhūṣana* M., xiii. 66, *cūrna* M., xxiii. 30, *cakra* M. xviii. 55 which either agree with the epic usage or are archaisms, *prāna* xxix. 3 is used in the singular The superlative *tama* is suffixed to substantives *vaniktama* ii. 13, *bandhutama* xix. 4 & xx. 37, *arthatama* xxix. 62, and once the phrase *taratama* is used like an adjective iv. 114

Once we have *Balinah* xxiv. 33 Gen. sg. from *Bali*, either the author takes *Balin* (usually *Bali*) as the name or it is a back-formation from Prākṛit We get the form *svasārah* xx. 90 for *svasr* Acc. pl. *kṛtāntah* is used for Voc. sg. xv. 47, Once *gatiṣu* for *gatiṣu* xxiv. 54, we get epic parallels for this, but here it is perhaps due to metre

Many nouns and adjectives are used with the abstractive sense, even though the necessary abstractive suffix or change is absent *adṛṣyarūpa* for *adṛṣyarūpatva* xiv. 20, *gādha* for *gādhatva* xx. 24, *utsuka* for *utsukatva* xx. 76, *nirāśraya* for *nirāśrayatva* xxi. 63, *ananyakṛti* for *kīrtitva* xxii. 31, *nirmala* for *nirmālya* xxv. 45, *malīmasa* for *malīmasatva* xxix. 98 On the other hand we have also *vicikitsatā* for *vicikitsā* xxxi. 69, *śaranyatā* for *śarana* xiii. 15, *samvāhanatā* for *samvāhanana* xiii. 87, *sukha-duḥkhātmaka* for *sukhaduḥkha* xxiv. 30 Then we have a form *ārogyatā* viii. 53, xiii. 20, which is doubly abstract

It passes one's understanding why sometimes the author prefers the strong grade of the feminine form of the possessive suffix *vat* as in *garvavantyah*, *viśuddhavantyah* i. 59, *śrutavantyah* xv. 34, *cetanāvantyah* xv. 37, *dhairyavantyah* xxviii. 105 If these are not scribal errors, they appear to be contaminated by Prākṛit usage All these cases can be corrected without spoiling the metre

Our text abounds in various verbal forms some of which deserve our special attention The Padas, Parasmaipada or Ātmanepada, may be noted in the following forms *bhartsa-yanti* v. 94, also note xviii. 41, 44, 76, *ādadhuh* xiv. 59 and *ādadāti* xxiv. 58 *mrgayāmi* xv. 134, *prasavanti* xxiv. 29, [vi] *kṣarate* xxiv. 57 Then forms like *lapate* iv. 83, *jheṣuh* xvii. 39, *kampat* xxix. 13 etc. agree more with the epic usage than with the classical one

The author shows a decided inclination towards the use of Perfect, though the forms of the Imperfect and Aorist are also used Perfect is used even for narrating contemporary

¹ *Tattvavārtikasūtra* with various commentaries, also *Eine Jaina Dogmatik* by H. JACOBI in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1906, *Dravyasamgraha*, *Pravacanasāra* etc. Among the reference books the following may be noted *Jaina Gem. Dictionary* (Arrah 1918), *Abhidhāna-Rājcandra* (in Sanskrit) in seven Vols (Ratlam), *Ardha-māgadhi Dictionary* in four Vols (Indore), *Bṛhat Jaina Śābdā-maṇḍana* in Hindi in two Vols (Surat) etc.

events (ii 11), and once it appears to be used even for the first person (xvi 24) In canto iii verses 19-25, the author has as if a regular exercise for the practice of forming desideratives for which he shows his fondness like *Aśvaghōṣa* It is a regular habit with him to separate the verb of the perfect from its auxiliary by some intervening word, see for instance ii 50, xi 61-2, 85, xiii 20, xiv 16, xviii 56, xix. 7, 19, xxii 3, 26, xxiii 3, 8, 17, 71, xxviii 79, xxix 25, xxx 67 At xxiii 17 the verb has a preposition in addition *Aśvaghōṣa* has some instances of this separation (*Buddhacarita* ii 19, vi 58 and vii 9), and this practice is sanctioned by *Kālidāsa* (*Raghuvamśa* ix 61 and xiii 36) Pretty frequently *āsa* is independently used as in the Epics, for instance i 46, xx 54, xxi 33, xxx 27 There is one clear case of double preposition *upopaviṣṭa* ii 14, xxiii 73; and *adhyadhiṣṭhita* in xxi 69, may be included in the same category *Upopaviṣṭa* is used by *Aśvaghōṣa* and it is found in *Rāmāyana* also as I have pointed out in the Notes

The author, it appears, has used many irregular forms *karavāmahe* for *karavāmahaḥ* xxviii 84, (*sasarijuh*) for *sasrijuh* ii 35, *samudadhyuh* for *samudadhuh* x 63, *jaghniṣṭha* for *jaghamiṣṭha* xiv 51, *juhuh* for *juhuvuh* xxv 15, *mamarduh* for *mamrduh* xxx 21, *cicitsavah* for *cicetiṣavah* iii 21, *śisāmsavah* for *śisamīṣavah* iii 23, *samaśnutām* for *samaśnuvānānām* or *samaśnuvatām* iv 114 & v 95, *samvibhājitum* either for *samvibhājayitum* or *samvibhaktum* xxi 58, *susādhayivā* for *susādhya* xxxi 82 and also note *aviganya* for *aviganayya* xviii 2, *rantvā* for *ratvā* xv 128, xxii 20, *parimanthya* for *parimathya* xxiv 56 and *ācakṣitam* for the usual *ākhyātam* xix 73 are rather rare usages The author shows a tendency, quite normal according to the epic usages, of having a strong grade for the feminine base of the present participle *bruvantyah* v 61, *rudantyah* xv 36, 39 and xix 44 The form *rudanti* is used by *Aśvaghōṣa* (*Saundarananda* vi 6, 35 and *Buddhacarita* ix 26 JOHNSTON'S Ed)

Now and then we find that the causal form is used to denote the primitive sense *parīpśayinyah* i 59, *atiśāyayaṭi* i 27 *vighātayanti* iv 30, *todayanti* v 52, *cūṣayanti* v 85 *saṁślāghayantah* viii 34, *bhikṣayanti* viii 28, *parīksayanti* x 11, *pratīvarṣayantau* xiv 12, *samupāsayantah* xxii 42, also *nraṣṭjātānām* xxvi 41 and sometimes the primitive is used with causal sense *hrtvā* viii 22, *vyābhāsamānāh* ix 38 and *śamitum* xxix 8

We find that *ut-khan* is used in the sense of *ni-khan* v 48, and *gai* or *ni-gai* is used in the sense of speaking, see for instance xvi 57, xx 42, 80, 83, and xii 11 Quite ingeniously the author uses *niśāmya* and *niśāmya* (ii 37) with their different shades of meaning The roots *nṛt* (xiv 4) and *vac* (ii 9 & xii 53) are transitively used with the cognate accusative, while some gerunds are standing intransitively, for instance *anubhūya* i 60, *adhiruḥya* v 83, *nighṛṣya* xiii 1 *Āsava bhavān* is used for *āstām bhavān* at xx 31

In many places the conjunctive *ca* is not rightly placed, see for instance ii 2, iii 36, 47, x 35, xiv 57, xviii 73, xxi 9, xxiii 47 etc Sometimes *ca* or *hi* stands at the beginning of a pāda x. 35, xxvii 56 and xxviii 37 At times both *evam* and *ittham* (ii 48, xx 21) and both *yadā* and *cet* (xvi 68, xix 80, xx 25, xxiv 22, 28) are used The archaic *amā* for *saha* is quite a favourite with the author (ii 57, viii 44, xxiii 6, xxviii 98, xxx 34) He shows a tendency of using the pronominal forms of *tad* etc at times without any definite purpose and at times like a definite article in English, see for instance i 4, viii 36, xi 65, 72, 75, etc. etc Often *sāhva* is used for *āhva* or *upāhva* viii 1, xx 27 Now and then *ka* stands like a *svārthe* suffix xi. 25. xxiii. 30

The author is in the regular habit of using Sāpekṣa compounds which may be tolerated as the sense is not much obscured. We have many of them scattered all over the text, see for instance i 39, 46, 53, 69, ii 1 etc. Pāṇini's rule *ānan ṛto dvandve* is often violated, see for instance i 59, xx 5, xxi 8, xxviii 60, xxxi 4 and also my notes thereon. Quite freely the author puts the possessive suffixes to Karmadhāraya compounds, see for instance iii 58, iv 95, ix 45, xiii 25 etc. In some cases he does not use Samāhāra as required by classical convention *hastyśva-yānān* iii 30, *padāti-hastyśva-rathān* xvi 31. We may also note forms *savajayantyaḥ* for *savajayantikāḥ* xviii 18 and *-netroh* for *-netṛkayoh* etc. xviii 83. About the sequence of words in a compound expression the author is liable to a good deal of laxity, and in this respect he can be compared with his colleagues in Prākṛit literature. Some of the important deviations I have noted in the Notes, see for instance viii 18, 40, ix 24, xi 33, xii 72, xiii 1, 31, xvi 31, xvii 51, xxiii 26, 56, xxiv. 49, xxx 3, xxxi 73 etc.

The ordinary rules of Samdhī are uniformly observed. But between the Pādas *a & b* and *c & d* the author, it appears, does not accept that Samdhī is compulsory. We find many such cases which are recorded in the Notes. There are a few cases where hiatus is allowed even in the body of a Pāda viii 39a, xiv 78d xvi 81a. There are two illustrations of abnormal Samdhī *sukṣetra+ajñāḥ=sukṣetrājñāḥ* xxviii 42 and *grāme+ekarātram=grāmaikarātram* xxx 45.

In xvii 32 *ṛpātmaṣā* Nom sg stands for *ṛpātmaṣayā* Inst sg. The classical usage requires that the causals of the roots *ad* and *khād* should govern Inst, but here we find that the Acc is used instead v 49, 57. The root *hr* with *pra* governs Acc see for instance xiv 31, xvii 44, 61, xviii 70. In i 8-9 the author has illustrated the use of *vinā* with Abl, Acc and Inst. Instrumental is used for Acc in xxiii 101, where we usually want *vara-cūrṇa-vāsān* etc. As in the epic usage, *apeta* governs Inst viii 34, vi 51, xvi 50. If the reading is correct, it is a novel usage that Dative is used to convey the sense of 'instead of' *Kāścidbhatāya śrīyamesa bhunkte* 'he enjoys glory instead of K' xviii 126. Then Gen is used for Inst xxxi 86, and for Abl which is necessary for comparison xvi 60. Lastly Loc *tasmin* is used for Acc xiii 63.

The usage of *samāna-kartṛkatva* appears to be violated in the use of Gerund vi 53, also note xv 126 which needs some emendation as suggested in the Notes.

Among the numerals used by the author the following ordinals in the colophons of those cantos specially attract our attention *ekādaśama*, *dvādaśama*, *trayodaśama*, *saptadaśama*, *ekonatṛiṃśatitama*, *trīṃśatitama* and *ekatrīṃśatitama*. Also note *caturdaśam* for *caturdaśa* xxx 4. Some such forms like *ekādaśama*, *aṣṭādaśama* and *ṣaṣṭama* are found in one Ms of *Saundarananda* collated by DR JOHNSTON for the edition of that work¹.

Some of the specialities of Jatila are the normal usages of the epics, and now and then they are common to Aśvaghoṣa and Jatila. I do not claim that I have exhausted all the peculiarities. Some space is devoted to them, along with the emendations of certain corrupt passages, in the Notes at the end. A thorough and statistical study with a better text would reveal many more interesting points. Then alone it would be possible for us to discriminate between archaisms, special features representing a distinct grammatical tradition, writer's irregularities and scribal slips.

¹ See *Saundarananda*, pp 82, 132 and 142 in the Variants.

(ix) METERS IN VARĀṄGACARITA

We may enumerate here the various meters used in *Varāṅgacarita*. In view of the bad text-tradition, there are many defective lines and metrical irregularities. Some of them can be emended as shown in the Notes.

Anuṣṭubh (469) iv 1-112, v 1-108, xv 1-144 and xxvi 1-105. One anuṣṭubh verse forms a part of the colophon and it is repeated at the close of all the cantos. The Anuṣṭubh of Jaṭila does not reach the polish attained in the classical stage. When events are being narrated, the verses are normally regular. But whenever dogmatical enumerations etc., are set forth, they read like prose cut into lines. There are some pādas containing nine syllables iv 7c, 14c, 109a, xv. 104b, xxvi, 6a, 54b, excepting one all of them are enumerative in character, some pādas are metrically defective iv 6d, 22c, 29a etc., and in one place we find a flaw of *yatubhanga* between c and d iv 31.

Upajāti (1879) a combination of the stanzas of lines of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā with complete Indravajrās and Upendravajrās here and there ii 1-93, iii 1-61, vi 1-53, vii 1-65, viii 1-67, ix 1-60, x 1-62, xi 1-85, xii 1-84, xiv 1-96, xvi 1-109, xvii 1-84, xviii 1-128, xix 1-77, xxii 1-77, xxiii 1-103, xxv 1-96, xxvii 1-92, xxviii 1-106, xxix 1-95, xxx 1-73 and xxxi 1-113. Sometimes there is a hiatus in the body of a line viii 39a, xiv 78d, xvi 81a. In an Upajāti verse there is a Vamśasthā foot xiv 24d. The last vowel in the word *upasti* in xvi 30d followed by *vyaktim* becomes prosodially long against metre. At xxii 50d *tu* becomes long against metre. At xxvii 15a one syllable is in excess.

Drutavilambita (89): xx 1-89

Puṣpitaṅgrā (24) i 69-70, iv 113-4, vii 66-7, xi 86-7, xiv 97-98, xvii 85-6, xxiv 76-77, xxv 97-8, xxvii 93-4, xxviii 107-8 and xxix 96-9. It may be noted that xvii. 85d is short by one syllable.

Praharṣiṇī (20) i 94-5, v 109-10, ix 61-62, xii 85-88, xv 145-46, xviii 129-30 (see the Notes), xxii 78-9, xxx 74-5, xxxi 114-15 (see the Notes).

Bhujangaprayāta (10) vi 54-5, x 63-4, xiii 88-9 and xxiii 104-7

Mālabhāriṇī (77)¹ viii 68-69 (see the Notes), xxiv 1-75. Canto xxiv is a chapter of philosophical contents which are often obscure, and the text too is not well preserved. There are many lines which are wanting in some syllables, while some have syllables more than necessary. All these irregularities are noted in the Notes and some emendations too are suggested.

Mālinī (12) iii 62-3, xvi. 110-111, xix 78-81, xx 90-91 and xxxi 79-80

Vasantatilakā (70) i 1-68 and xxvi 106-7.

¹ Though *Buddhacarita* v 1-78 are in Mālabhāriṇī metre, Dr. JOHNSTON calls them *Aupacchandasiḥa*. Is it that he treats Mālabhāriṇī as a stereotyped variety of *Aupacchandasiḥa*?

Varṇasāstha (165) xii 1-87, xxi. 1-78 In two places we have Indravamśā pādas in a Varṇasāstha verse, see xiii 56c and xxi. 20a.

From the above analysis it is plain that the favourite metre of the author is Upajāti as in the case of Aśvaghoṣa. As remarked above he does not mind hiatus between *a* and *b* and *c* and *d* of a verse. Often the last syllable of a pāda, though grammatically short, is treated as long for metrical purposes. Sometimes hiatus is allowed in the body of a line. At xxiv 28c a short vowel followed by *ḥ* is taken as a long vowel.

(x) STYLE OF VARĀṄGACARITA

For two reasons it is difficult to evaluate the style of *Varāṅgacarita* with justice: first, the text-tradition is bad and one is faced with many corrupt passages, and secondly the contents are varied in character, major portion of the work being devoted to dogmatical details and polemic discussions. We miss here the delicate ideas, exquisite comparisons, subtle polish and smooth handling of Sanskrit language which characterise Kālidāsa. In moral earnestness and religious zeal Jatila can be favourably compared with Aśvaghoṣa. Dogmatical details have marred the poetic effect of the work. The first canto is dignified in its flow, but this tone is not maintained throughout. In narrating the events Jatila is quite vigorous, and in moral discourses specially at home. In some places the author like a good student, observes the special rules of grammar¹, while we come across many lapses elsewhere. Thus as the text stands, it leaves the impression of an amateur production. Though his descriptions of the palanquin (ii 53 ff) and temple (xxii 57 ff) are rather extravagant, his battle scenes, quite epical in style, are worthy of any great epic poet. Jatila, like the South Indian architect, takes delight in working out details and details, and is pleased to repeat scenes after scenes. Now and then we come across rhyme (xi 45, xix 38, xxi 80, xxii 57-8 and also 59), alliteration (xv 15), and the repetition of the same syllable to produce a sonorous sound (xxii 7, 21). Here and there we find beautiful verses which testify to the artist and the poet in Jatila². We may quote some verses here³.

xi 66

चलत्पताकोज्ज्वलकेशमाला
प्राकारकाञ्चिः स्तुतिर्यनादा ।
प्रपूर्णकुम्भोरुपयोधरा सा
पुराङ्गना लब्धपतिस्तुतोष ॥

xviii 14

अन्योन्यदन्तांस्तु बलाद्भजेन्द्रा
कृत्वाद्य रोषाद्विसवत्क्षणेन ।
सखेहिताद्वैरमिजन्तुरन्यान्
नीराजनायामिव वैरलातैः ॥

¹ *āramati*, i 34, *samavatuṣṭhate*, iv 9, *bhīṣayante*, v 94, *samkriḍamānā*, vi 12 etc

² Describing the Ms of *Varāṅgacarita* HIRALAL remarks 'It is a Kāvya of high poetic merit (*Catalogue of Sk and Pk Mss in the C P and Berar*, p 689). A friend of mine, a close student of Classical Sanskrit, to whom I had sent the first form of this text, writes to me 'The style of the work is charming. It is so melodious that one is reminded of Aśvaghoṣa's verses'.

³ These verses are quoted here with certain emendations suggested in the Notes.

xviii 65

मानोन्नतं नावनतं परेभ्यो
 दोलायमानभमरावलीकम् ।
 शिरः सनाढं विनिपत्य भूमौ
 प्रफुल्लपद्माकृतिमावधार ॥

The last verse is worthy of any great poet The author inherits many similes from others, but now and then he has his own similes

xviii 119

वातायनेभ्यः खलु पुष्पवर्ष
 वराङ्गनाभादुल्लताः सलीलाः ।
 प्रचक्षुरक्षूर्णरजोविमिश्रं
 वातावधूता इव कामवल्लयः ॥

xxviii 6

निदाघमासे व्यजनं यथैव
 करात्करं सर्वजनस्य याति ।
 तथैव गच्छन्प्रियतां कुमारो
 वृद्धिं च बालेन्दुरिव प्रयातः ॥

When Jināsena complimented the poetic flash of Jātula, I think that he had such verses in view.

7 FOUR OTHER VARĀNGACARITAS

(1) VARDHAMĀNA'S VARĀNGACARITA IN SANSKRIT

The story of prince Varāṅga has proved fascinating in later days Vardhamāna composed in Sanskrit verse another *Varāṅgacarita*¹ This poem is a summary of Jātula's work with which it has close phraseological agreements in places more than one, the author only curtails the details of religious sermons and various descriptions, the skeleton of the story remaining the same all the while The incidents and events of the story are narrated in the same order At times proper names are differently spelt Vardhamāna perhaps implies that he has summarised Jātula's work when he says

गणेश्वरैर्या कथिता कथा बरा ।
 वराङ्गराजस्य सविस्तरं पुरा ।
 मयापि संक्षिप्य च सैव वर्ण्यते
 सुकाव्यबन्धेन सुबुद्धिर्वर्णिनी ॥

PT JINADAS writes in his introduction to that edition that Vardhamāna's *Varāṅgacarita* is the same as the one referred to in *Harivamśa* of Jināsena But this view is not correct and cannot be accepted, because it is proved beyond doubt that Jātula is the author of *Varāṅgacarita* referred to by Jināsena

¹ Edited with Marāṭhī translation by PT JINADAS, Sholapur 1927

There is no definite evidence as to the date of Vardhamāna who gives meagre information about himself. He was a Bhaṭṭāraka belonging to Mūlasamgha, Balātkāragaṇa and Bhāratigaccha, and he had a title *para-vādi-dantipaṇicānana*. I know of two Vardhamānas. The first was the Guru of Dharmabhūṣana, the author of *Nyāyadiṭṭhikā*. If this Vardhamāna is the same as the Guru of Dharmabhūṣana, then this *Varāṅgacarita* is composed in the middle of the fourteenth century A D at the earliest, because the date of Dharmabhūṣana is given as c. A D 1600 by VIDYABHUSHAN¹ and A D 1385 by PATHAK.² The second Vardhamāna is the author of Humch inscription, and his date is about A D 1530 according to RICE.³ It is important to note that this second Vardhamāna belonged to Balātkāragaṇa. Under these circumstances this *Varāṅgacarita* cannot be taken earlier than 13th century A D.

From the 13th century onwards the references to either Jatāsimhanandi or his *Varāṅgacarita* become scarce. If it is not an accident, the probable reason might have been that the *Varāṅgacarita* of Vardhamāna came to be popular. It is this work, and not Jatila's *Varāṅgacarita*, which is at the basis of Kannada and Hindi versions noted below.

(ii) DHARANIPANDITA'S VARĀNGACARITA IN KANNADA

There is one *Varāṅgacarita* in Kannada written by Dharanī Paṇḍita who flourished about A D 1650. He was a native of Viṣṇuvardhanapura. It is composed in 2 popular Kannada metre known as Bhāminī-saṭṭapadi. He says that his work is based on previous compositions. From the fact that he mentions one Vardhamānayati along with other previous authors, it appears that Vardhamāna's *Varāṅgacarita* was his authority. The Ms of this work noticed by R. NARASIMHACHARYA is incomplete containing only eight chapters.⁴

(iii) LĀLACANDA'S VARĀNGACARITA IN HINDI

Through the courtesy of PT. PANNALAL JAINA, Delhi, I received a paper Ms belonging to Lālā Harasukharāyaji, Jaina Pustakālaya, Mandira Pañcāyati, Delhi. It is written on Āśvina Śuddha 3, Sunday, Samvat 1905. It contains a metrical Hindi version, in 13 cantos, of the Sanskrit *Varāṅgacarita* of Vardhamāna noted above. From the concluding verses we learn that the work of Vardhamāna, being in Sanskrit, could not be followed by all, and hence there was the need of rendering it into Bhāṣā, i.e., the earlier stage of Hindi. At Aṭera, in the territory of Bhadāvara (now in the Gwalior State) there lived a Bhaṭṭāraka Viśvabhūṣana by name. His disciple was Brahmasāgara of the Agravāla family. He went to Girnar on pilgrimage, and on his way back halted at Hindaun where many pious house-holders resided. He had a disciple in Pāṇḍe Lālacanda who translated the Sanskrit work into Bhāṣā so that all might read it. This was not possible for him without somebody's aid for which there arrived an opportunity. Nathamala, son of Sobhācanda, of Bilālā Gotra, left Āgrā and came to stay at Hirāpur and rendered much assistance in the composition of this work. The author quite modestly states that he composed this work

¹ *Indian Logic* Mediaeval School, p. 54.

² *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XII, iv, p. 376.

³ *E. C.* VIII, Nagar No. 46.

⁴ *Kaṇḍāṭaka Kavacarite*, Vol. II, p. 417 ff.

not to parade his learning, but for merit and for the benefit of other house-holders. The work was finished in Samvat 1827, 5th day of Māgha Śukla, Saturday, i.e. A.D. 1769, 11th February.

Besides *Varāṅgacarita*, it is reported¹ that Lālacandra composed many other works in Hindī such as *Saṅkarmopadeśaratnamālā* (Samvat 1818), *Vimalanātha-purāṇa*, *Śikharavilāsa*, *Samyaktva-kaumudī*, *Āgamaśataka* and some other books on rituals.

(iv) KAMALANAYANA'S VARĀṆGACARITA IN HINDI

From a Ms containing 67 pages (7" × 11") with eleven lines on each page Pt. KAMATA PRASAD JAINA, Aliganj, has kindly sent to me some relevant extracts from the Hindī *Varāṅgacarita* of Kamalanayana of Mainapurī. As noted in the concluding colophon, it is a metrical rendering of the Sanskrit work of Vardhamāna.

Kamalanayana was a resident of Mainapurī. He belonged to Yaduvamśa and Budhela caste, his surname was Nagarābāra and his Gotra was Kāśyapa. His grandfather Nandurāma was a prominent Banker of that place, while his father Haracandadāsa was a physician. Kamalanayana had an elder brother Ksitipati by name. He finished this *Varāṅgacarita* in Samvat 1872, i.e. A.D. 1814, Jyestha Śuddha Purnimā.

¹ *Jaina Histories*, Vol. XIII, p. 26.

KANARESE WORDS IN DEŚĪ LEXICONS*

It is usual with Prākṛit grammarians to divide the Prākṛit vocabulary into three distinct sections—*Tatsama*, *Tadbhava* and *Deśya*¹ This classification, it must be noted at the outset, is coloured by their bias that the Prākṛit languages are mere derivations from classical Sanskrit and the composition of a Prākṛit grammar, according to them, consisted in giving a few rules showing where Prākṛit formations deviate from Sanskrit and then *Śeṣam Sanskritavat siddham*² So those Sanskrit words which could be imported into Prākṛit without any phonetic changes came to be known as *Tatsama* i.e. *Sanskritasama* Knowledge of Sanskrit was considered to be a preceding factor before the study of Prākṛits—so the grammarians did not bother themselves about the explanation of *Tatsama* words, nor was it within their limited scope of Prākṛit grammars So words like *Sahla*, *Adambara*, *Arambha*, *Siddhi* and *Bimba* did not come under their purview It is the treatment of *Tadbhava* words that engrossed their attention Hemacandra opened in this respect almost a new field by thoroughly analysing the then existing Prākṛit Literature and carefully noting all irregularities, sometimes even composing special rules for individual words This multiplication of rules in explaining each and every irregular word could have been conveniently saved by giving a list of Sanskrit words and their Prākṛit equivalents³ For philologists interested in studying the vocabulary of modern vernaculars these *Tadbhava* words—*Mamjaro*, *Borī*, *Dāhna*, *Laṭṭhī*, *Pisallo*, *Nhāvio* etc — are of immense importance⁴ For *Tadbhava* words we are in a position to give phonetically cognate Sanskrit equivalents The *Deśya* section is more interesting The grammarians admit that the *Deśī* words are not related with Sanskrit words neither phonetically nor metaphorically and they are treated as foreign elements but rendered indigenous by familiarity due to their constant use by classical authors Hemacandra⁵ proposes to include those words in his *Deśī-nāmamālā* (DNM) which are not treated in his grammar (*Siddha Hema*⁶) and which have no recognition in Sanskrit Lexicons and further he warns that a *Deśī* Lexicon is not meant to be a systematic vocabulary of words current in different provincial dialects, the composition of which is almost impossible It must be remarked that Hemacandra has not abided by his definition of *Deśī* words Sometimes he has fallen short of and at other times he has overshot the mark Prākṛitists⁷ have scrutinized Hemacandra's work and have come to the conclusion that Hemacandra had included some words as *Deśī* which are really *Tadbhavas* like others given in his grammar To settle whether a word is *Deśī* or not is often a subjective problem⁸ It depends on the individual command on Sanskrit vocabulary So the designation of *Deśī* should not be extended to any word only as an excuse of one's

* Published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, XII, III, Poona, 1931, pp 274-84

¹ See Hem Prk Vyākaraṇa, I 1, Trivikrama's Grammar, Introductory Verse No 6, Śaṅkhaśācandrikā Introductory Verse No 49, Śubhacandra's Grammar I, 1 16 and so forth

² That is the final stroke of the most of our Prākṛit Grammarians See Hem IV 448

³ See Pt Rishikesh Śāstri's Prākṛit Grammar (Calcutta 1883), p 74

⁴ These words have their counterparts in Marathi, Hindi and so on

⁵ See D N M 3 and 4

⁶ See Bhavīṣyattakāhā (G O S) Introduction, pp 65 & c

⁷ Bühler's Introduction to his edition of Pāyālacchi-nāmamālā (P L N M) (Göttingen 1879)

ignorance of the oceanic Sanskrit vocabulary, of the application of the armoury of philological processes and the rules of the newly growing science of Semantics¹, nor should one be so biased as not to give any chance to Dravidian and other languages of claiming a particular word as theirs and to trace every word to Sanskrit somehow or the other. When we look at Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā in the above spirit we find the real Deśī words given by Dhanapāla are very few as compared with other *Tadbhava* words given by him. The so-called Deśī words often turn out to be *Tadbhavas* according to recognised laws of phonetic corruption. Dhanapāla's work is mainly a Pāiya-Nāmamālā (a Prakrit Lexicon) and as such he has every scope to include any number of *Tadbhavas* and hence qualitatively his work is bound to differ from the Deśī-Nāmamālā² of Hemacandra. The function of Deśī Lexicographers is to analyse the Prākṛit-Apabhraṃśa Literature and select only those words which cannot be traced to any Sanskritic or middle Prākṛit counterparts phonetically or metaphorically and then give their meaning either settling it from the context, or as received from old teachers (*Gurumukha*) or if possible as current in particular provincial dialect. Dhanapāla admits this when he says

Kaavesu je rasaḍḍhā saddā bahuso kañi bajhamti
Te ittha mae raiyā ramamtu hiyaḥ sahiyayānam || 279 ||³

Hemacandra gives many genuine Deśī words and it is necessary to trace their origin however tentative our conclusions might be at present. Dr P. I. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt., has published a list⁴ of Deśī words from DNM which have been preserved in Marāṭhī and its dialects. Dr Vaidya states in his paper that Pt. Todaramall has traced some 100 words to Punjābī and its dialects but that paper is not published. The moderate ambition of this present paper is to give a critical list of a few Deśī words, from Deśī Lexicons, which appear to have been taken from Kanarese.⁵

Before taking up the topic it would not be out of place to indicate here the relation between Prākṛit and Kanarese vocabulary. The geographical limits of Kanarese speech were indeed extensive in the middle ages and certainly it is not an exaggeration when Nrpatunga, (814-877 A.D.) the author of *Kavirājamārga* tells us that the Kanarese country extended from the Kāveri to the Godāvarī. Prākṛit Literature, especially the Jaina Śourasenī, has a pretty history of its own in South India and we have many Prākṛit works composed by Nemicaṇḍa (9th Century), Devasena and other authors, whose mother-tongue was Kanarese. So their Prākṛit vocabulary can hardly escape the Kanarese influence. Kundakunda (1st Century A.D.), too has written his works both in Prākṛit and Tamila.⁶ Kanarese was originally only a spoken language and when the Jainas first patronised it in early centuries of the Christian era and wanted to utilize it as a local vernacular through which they could popularise their religion, they found its vocabulary too poor to meet the needs of their philosophical expression. They drew upon the Sanskrit

¹ See Dr Vaidya's paper 'Observations on Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā', A B O R I, Vol. VIII pp. 63-71.

² Published in B S S —but now out of print.

³ See PLNM.

⁴ J B O R I, Vol. VIII, pp. 63-71.

⁵ It is in this paper Dr Vaidya made a suggestion, 'It is however very likely that the old Māhātmya might have adapted words from other Indian languages, principally from the Dravidian languages.'

⁶ See PROF. CHAKRAVARTY'S Introduction to his English translation of *Pañcīkīṭīya*, S B J III.

vocabulary but the Sanskrit forms could not suit the Kanarese sound system, so they naturally sought shelter of the rules of Prākṛit grammar and after necessary corruptions, they imported these words into Kanarese. The Prākṛit influence on the growth of Kanarese vocabulary is an independent subject itself which we will be treating in a different paper. For the present it is sufficient to say that the Kanarese vocabulary is much indebted to that of Prākṛit and at the same time it has given a few words to Prākṛit writers some of whom came from Kanarese countries. The voluminous Apabhramśa writer Puṣpadanta has completed his *Apb Mahāpurāṇa* in Mānyakheta¹ (modern Malkhedā) in Karpātaka; then Trivikrama the author of Prākṛit grammar comes also from Karpātaka, (his preceptor's name is Arhanandī, probably of Nandisaṅgha which was popular in Karpātaka). It is no wonder then if some Kanarese words have entered into Prākṛit Kāvya and they are set down as Deśī words by Lexicographers.

Akkā (अक्का)—(*Akkā bahinī* DNM 6) In that very sense the word is current in Marāṭhī also. But in Sanskrit it means a mother. Considering its meaning then the word can be called Deśī. Sanskritists have suspected that it is a foreign word—Williams Sanskrit Dictionary. Dr Caldwell² quotes some Scythian instances where also it means an elder sister. 'Lappish *Akke* signified both wife and a grand-mother' Tungusian *Akin* Finish *Ukko* are very striking parallels. 'The ultimate base of all these words' according to Dr Caldwell³, 'is probably *Ak* old'. To us, the word appears to come from Dravidian stock preferably from Kanarese, where too it is a derivation from *Āke* (a demonstrative pronoun meaning she. *Ake*, probably dative Sg. from *Ā*. See Śabdamanidarpaṇam (SMD) Sūtra 113, on the analogy of *Anna* (now in Kanarese meaning an elder brother) which is derived from the Sanskrit pronoun *Anyā* (other than oneself=brother). For the present we might leave the Scythian affinities and say that the word comes from Kanarese according to the above derivation.

Appo (अप्पो)—(*appo piā* DNM 6) Indeed a very interesting word. Not only that this word is current in all Dravida languages but some of the non-Dravidian vernaculars too have this word. Cf. Marāṭhī *Appā-Abā*. Dr Caldwell gives so many cognate forms from different dialects. 'The Mech a Būtia dialect has *Appa* for father, Singhalese *Appā*, the Bhotia *Aba*'. Caldwell⁴ gives some Indo-European affinities but he has not suggested the original base of *Appo*. We wish to suggest that the ultimate base of this word is Sanskrit while the meaning is Dravidian and probably Kanarese. It can be traced to *Ātman* through Prākṛit *Appā*. But how that word came to mean a father? In Kanarese the son is called *Appayya* which is undoubtedly from *Ātmaja* (Skt). The equation would be like this

Ātma-ja=*Appa-yya*=One born from Self (=father). When we remove *ja* the equation remains thus

Ātma=*Appa*=father

¹ मण्णखेत-पुरवर-निवसते—See the concluding portion of his *Mahāpurāṇa*.

² All references to Dr Caldwell are to his monumental work 'A comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages' 2nd Edition (1875).

³ *Ibid*, p. 454.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 499 & c.

That the son is born from and represents the Self of the father is a current idea. Sometimes there is a belief that the father takes birth in the form of his son only retaining his body formally. We cannot carry these popular ideas to their ultimate logical issues. They are beliefs and not reasonable conclusions. In Sanskrit *Ātman* does not appear to have been used for signifying father and hence *Appo*=father is Deśī. It is necessary to see whether the ideas noted above are Dravidian or Aryan originally. The Dravidians 'appear to have had no idea of "heaven" or "hell", of the "Soul" or "Sin"'.¹ Thus it may be suggested that the idea *viṣ*, the father is the self of the son, may be originally Aryan. But Dravidians might have adopted it later and as shown above they went backward from the word *Appayya* and got the word *Appa*=father.

Uddano (उदुणो)-(*Uddano dīha*° I 123 DNM) Compare Kanarese *Udda-anna*. *Udda* is from Skt *Ūrdhva* (ŚMD gives *Uccam*=*uddam*, Sūtra 263). But the termination *na* (showing possession) and the *āgama* of *na* are Kanarese features of the word.

Udū (उदु)-(*Udū Tṛṇaparicāraṇam*, I 86 DNM) It is from the Kanarese *√Udu*=*Vastra-praveṣṭane* (SMD, List of Verbs). The meaning appears to be first generalised and then restricted.

Ummallo (उमल्लो)-(*Ummallo balātkār itī kecit*, I 131 DNM) Compare Kanarese *Ummaḷa*=heat, grief. The Kanarese grammarians want to trace it to Skt *Uṣman*. Or *Ud√mad*?

Ulli (उल्लो)-(*Chulū Ulli*, I 87 DNM) Cf with Kanarese *ole*. *o* is further shortened into *u*. Even in Kanarese we find this shortening process *Kodu*=*Kudu*, *Todu*=*Tudu*.

Ūro (उरो)-(*Ūro grāmah*, I 143 DNM) Some scholars think that it is a Dravidian word but there is no reason why it should not be traced to Skt *Pura* which is changed to *Ura* when it is a second member of a compound—*Sri-pura*=*Sirūra*. Caldwell² gives some Semitic affinities. Cf Heb *ār* or *īr* a city. Assyrian *Uru* &c.

Ūlo (उलो)-(*Ulo gatibhangah* I 139 DNM) Compare Kan *√Uraḷ-Uraḷu-Urḷu-Uḷḷu* and now in modern Kanarese *√Uḷḷu*=to tumble. *Ulo* (Deśī) is from *Uḷḷu*, the conjunct is simplified and to keep up the quantity the preceding vowel is lengthened.

Ettoppam (एत्तोपम)-(*Ettoppam etatprabhṛti*, DNM I 144 and also PLN 169 where Dhanapāla has *ittoppam*). Bühler suggests that it is a mutilated form of Skt *etat-prabhṛti*. Cf K *Entopp* or *intapp* or *intappa*=of this type, or manner.

Okkia (ओकिया)-(*Okkiam uṣitam*, DNM I 151) Compare with Kanarese *√okku*=enter, dwell. The various stages of the Kanarese form are-*√Puga* (*Praveśa*)-*pukku-okku*.

Oppā (ओप्पा)-(*Oppā sūnādinā maṇyāder-mārjanam*, DNM I 148) Cf Kanarese *oppu*=polish, glitter, *oppu hāku* is always used with reference to the polish of gems. And *oppu-vajjara* means a shining diamond.

¹ Dr Caldwell *Ibid*, p 118 of the Introduction.

² *Ibid*, p 493.

Kali (काली)-(*Kali satruh*, DNM II 2) In K *Kali*=a warrior, a valiant person—So the Deśi word is an instance of restricted sense

Kāra (कार)-(*Kāram katu*, II 26) In K *Kāra*=pungent However there is the possibility of deriving from Sk *Kṣāra*

Kumḍio (कुण्डियो) or **Komdio-** (*grāma-bhoktā*, II 48) Compare with K *gaunda* the meaning given by Hemacandra is the same as the literal meaning of *gaunḍa=grāma+unda* (√*unnu*=to eat, to enjoy) This word is current in Kanarese inscriptions in its various forms (See E C vol I, Mysore Ins No 17) often used as the second member of compound names such as *Deva-gaunda*, at present it conveys the same sense as *Pātil*

Kuruda (कुवड)-(=*nirdayah*, II 63) Cf K *Kuruda*=a blind man So the meaning is metaphorically extended

Kūra (कूर)-(=*Bhaktamiti*, II 43) Compare K *Kūl*=Boiled rice or food, sometimes *Kūru* also is used which is more current in Tamiḷa Malayālam and Tulu

Kotta (कोट)-(=*Nagaram*, II 45) In Skt the word is found in the sense of a fort or castle In Marāṭhī also the word is used in Sk sense Bombay people always say, *Kota*=fort Caldwell¹ suggests that the word is taken in Sk from Dravidian stock where it is derived from √*Kut* to be crooked In Kanarese *Kote-kottalgalam* is a famous phrase

Koṇo (कोणो)-(=*Kṛṣṇa-varṇah*, II 45) Compare K *Kona*=a male buffalo It is the specification of the black colour The sea is called *Udanvan* where its characteristic of possessing 'water' is specified

Kolo (कोलो) or **Kulla (कुल्ल)**-(=*Grīvā*, II 45 and 61) Compare K *Koral-Korl* and the current word *Kolla*

Kamci (कंची)-(=*Musala-mukhe loha-valayam*, II 1) Compare K *Komce*=the encircling wall

Khaddam (खड्ड)-(=*Śmaśru* II 66) Cf K *Gadda=Śmaśru* The Kanarese *g* often represents non-Kanarese *kh* for instance *Mukha=Moga Vaiśākha=Besiege*

Khodo (खोडो)-(=*Khañḇah*, II 80) Cf K *Kumṭa-Kūṭa*² Very often the Kanarese words have no aspirated consonants for instance, *Bhīma=Bīma* &c

Cādo (चाडो)-(=*Māyāvī*, III 8) Cf K *Cāḍe-Cāḍa*=a male slanderer or defamer Cf Marāṭhī *Cāhāḍa*.

Cikka (चिक्क)-(*Alpam vastu*, III 21) Cf K *Cikka*³ from *Ciru-Ciga*=little, small, young, cf also *Cikke*=a star

¹ *Ibid*, p 457.

² In Kanarese we find many instances of the loss of nasal,—*Benṭe* = *Bete*, *Lonṭa* = *Lota* etc.

³ We do not find any Sk counterpart for this

Dolā (दोला)-(=Śīrikā, IV 11) Cf K *Dolū-Dolū-Dolē*=a litter *Dolā* in Sk. means a swing

Nesaro (नेसरो)-(=Ravih, IV 44) Cf K *Nesaru*¹ (with that old Kanarese spelling *r*) written as *Nesar* also (Cf ŚMD Commentary on Sūtra 193 Where it is said *Taḷa-taḷane nesar-mūdidudu*)

Tuppo (तुप्पो)-(=Smṛdhah, V 22) Cf K *Tuppa*=clarified butter This word can hardly be traced to any Sk counterpart. In Tamiḷa we find *Tuppaga*, *tuppu* The Marāṭhī *tūpa* appears to have been taken from Kanarese It is usual in Marāṭhī, when a word is borrowed, to simplify the conjunct and to lengthen the preceding vowel whereby the quantity is maintained For instance *Sapta* (Sk)=*Satta* (Prk)=*Sāta* (M), *Vyāghra* (Sk)=*Vaggha* (Prk)=*Vāgha* (M) Similarly the Kanarese word *tuppa* might have been borrowed and phonetically naturalized

N(N)andī (नंदी)-(=Go-vācakah, IV 18) *Nandinī*=a fabulous cow, is current in Sk also Trivikrama also includes this word in his Deśī list (See, his Prākṛit grammar Grantha Pradarśinī edition, p 124) In Kanarese this word means an attendant on Śiva and also the *bull* on which he rides Śiva or Īśvara, who is a Nandī-śvara because of his riding the bull, is originally a Dravidian god and it is only in latter period that he is admitted into Brahmanic pantheon So the conception of Nandī might also be Dravidian It is interesting to note that Īśvara is called *Kannadiga*²

Pālo (पालो)-(=jīrnah, VI, 75) Cf K *Pāl*=Ruin, desolation In Modern Kanarese it is *Hālu*-for the change of *p* to *h* see below under Pāvo

Pāvo (पावो)-(=Sarpah, VI 38) Trivikrama includes it in his Deśī list (see p 127 *Ibid*) but he makes an attempt to trace it to Sk like this —*Prānī-ghatukavāt-pāpah* It is an ingenuous suggestion but we should not ignore so flatly the claims of the K counterpart of that word Compare K *Pāvu*, Telagu has *Pāmu* and Tamiḷa *Pāmvu* —all these signifying 'serpent' Modern Kanarese, however uses *Hāvu*—only a corruption from *Pāvu* on the analogy of *Pālu*=*Hālu*, *Pravāla*=*Havaḷa*, *Posa*=*Hosa* and so forth (See ŚMD Sūtra No 258)

Pullī (पुल्ली)-(=Vyāghrah, VI 79) Cf K *Pul*=a tiger

Poccām (पोच)-(=Sukumāram, VI 60) Cf K *Pocca-Posa-Hosa* (the last two in Modern Kanarese)=fresh

Maṇḍī (मंडी)-(=a cover lid PNM 233) Probably it is the same as the Kanarese word, *Maṇḍi* meaning a wooden saucer, generally used in North Karnāṭaka

Marulo (मरुलो)-(=Bhūtam piśācādi, VI 114) Cf K *Maru*=an evil spirit, an imp, a demon

Muddī (मुदी)-(=Cumbitam, VI 133) Cf K *Muddu*=a kiss

¹ There is no Sk counterpart for this

² For this reference I am indebted to Prof Kundanagar

Rotṭa (रोट्ट)- (= *Tandula-piṣṭam*, VII 11) In Kanarese we have *Rotṭi*=bread In Malayālam *Rottu*=a special bread from rice flour and coarse sugar

Vāhali (वाहली)- (= *Laghu-jala-pravāhaḥ*, III 27 Com) It can be derived from the Sk *√vah*, still it may be noted that it has close affinity with K *Hole*=a river

Vilham (विल्ह)- (= *Dhavalam*, VII 61) It may be traced to the Sk word *Valakṣa* or *Balakṣa*=white from *√val*=to go, however, the relation would be remote But scholars¹ have suspected that even *Valakṣa* comes from the Dravidian stock Slavonic *Vel*=white is an important affinity The Deśi form given by Hem appears to be closely related with Kanarese *Bile*=white *Bell*=silver (from its prominent attribute of whiteness), similarly the planet Venus is called *Bell* in K

Sūlā (सूला)- (= *Veśyā*, VIII 41) Compare Kanarese *Sūl*=a harlot, a prostitute According to ŚMD, it is a Kanarese word (See, illustrations on Sūtra 115)

The above list can hardly be claimed as exhaustive and final, it is a maiden attempt of one whose excursions in Kanarese Philology have been few and far between I want to draw the attention of South Indian Scholars better equipped in and more acquainted with Tamila, Telagu, Kanarese and Malayālam vocabularies, and interested in Prakrit philology, to the fact, that their might be many more words (especially Prākṛit Dhātvaśāsas See Hem VIII (iv) that are passed under the convenient name of Deśi which in the long run can be proved to have been borrowed from Dravidian languages In the present list words like *Nīra*, *Mīna* which have formed a bone of Contention between Sanskrit and Dravidian languages have been intentionally left off I am very thankful to my friend Prof K G Kundanagar, M A, for some of his valuable suggestions in course of the preparation of this article

¹ Caldwell, *Ibid*, p 460

MORE LIGHT ON THE YĀPANĪYA SANGHA¹: A JAINA SECT*

The religious and ascetic organisation headed by Nigantha Nātaputta, or Mahāvira, was led earlier by Pārśva, and Mahāvira was a Pāsāvaccijja, i.e., he belonged to the line of Pārśva. Still the *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIII, depicts a situation in which the pupils of Pārśva and of Mahāvira try to patch up some of the differences in their ascetic practices. It is such differences that might have created schisms and sects in the Jaina church in due course of time.

The *Samāgamasutta* mentions that Buddha had already scented dissensions in the Jaina church soon after the death of Mahāvira, or Nigantha Nātaputta, and exhorted his disciples not to fall a victim to such schismatic impulses². During the life-time of Mahāvira, the doctrinal differences like the Bahurata started by Jamālī, the son-in-law of Mahāvira, and Jivapradesa by Tisyagupta etc., were already there³. After the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, possibly due to the migration of certain monks to the South, there arose the division of Śvetāmbara and Digambara by laying more or less stress on certain ascetic practices which must have been there in the church even earlier⁴. The schisms started by Āryāsādhā (214 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira) etc.,⁵ did not survive long to perpetuate any division in the church.

From the Mathurā inscriptions of the early centuries it is clear that the ascetic groups like Gana, Kula, Śākhā and Sambhoga were already current in the Jaina church. Among the Digambaras there were such division as Sangha (Mūla, Drāvida etc.), Gana (Deśī, Sena, Kānūr etc.), Gaccha (Pustaka etc.), Anvaya (Kundakunda etc.). Among the Śvetāmbaras there are Gacchas like Kharatara, Tapā, Añcala, etc.⁶

The *Darśanasara* of Devasena (9th-10th century A.D.) gives a few details about the Sanghas some of which may be noted here. The Yāpanīya Sangha was led by Śrīkalaśa (205 years after the death of Vikrama), Drāvida Sangha by Vajranandī (526 years after the death of Vikrama), Kāsthā Sangha by Kumārasena (753 years after the death of Vikrama), and Māthura Sangha led by Rāmasena (953 years after the death of Vikrama)⁷. Such divisions, due to differences in practices, were unavoidable, because groups of ascetics lived and moved in different parts of the country.

Some definitions of these terms are available. A group of three monks was called a Gana, a band of seven monks was designated as Gaccha, and a regular community of monks

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¹ For earlier studies see Indian Antiquary VII, p. 31; A. Lüders E.I., IV, p. 338; N. Premji Jaina Hitāṇṇī, XIII, pp. 250-75; A. N. Upadhye Journal of the University of Bombay, I, VI, pp. 224 ff.; N. Premji Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, 2nd ed., Bombay 1956, pp. 56 f., 155 f., 521 f.; P. B. Desai Jainism in South India, Sholapur 1957, pp. 163-66 etc.

² Nalinaksh Datta Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools, p. 200.

³ E. Leumann Die alten Berichte von den Schismen der Jaina, I S., XVII, pp. 91-135.

⁴ Dr. Hoernle quoted in South Indian Jainism, pp. 25-27.

⁵ See Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya, Gāthās 2304-2548.

⁶ See the Introduction to Repertoire D'epigraphie Jaina by A. Guerinot, Paris 1908.

⁷ Annals of the B.O.R.I., XV, III-IV, pp. 198 ff., Poona, 1934.

was known as Sangha⁸. But these definitions cannot be taken as universal, in fact there are instances of the interchange of Gaṇa and Sangha. According to Uddyotana (779 A D) the term Gaccha seems to have originally indicated a travelling group of monks under its head⁹. The traditional meanings have to be collected from the leading monks among Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras.

In a Kannaḍa Ms, Gaṇabheda, more prominence is given to Gaṇas than to Sanghas. Four Gaṇas are recognized, and they are linked with certain Sanghas, (i) Senagaṇa Mūlasangha), (ii) Balavatkāra¹⁰ (Nandisangha), (iii) Deśigaṇa (Simhasangha), and (iv) Kālograṇa (Yāpaniya Sangha)¹¹.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to the Yāpaniya Sangha, partly because there were certain prejudice against the Yāpaniyas, and because they do not exist today under that name like Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. There are various traditions about the origin of the Yāpaniyas. Devasena, who compiled his *Darśanasāra* in the year 909 or 990 years after the death of king Vikrama, records a tradition that Śrīkalaśa a Śvetāmbara monk started the Yāpaniya Sangha in the town of Kalyāṇa in the year 205 after the death of king Vikrama. Then Ratnanandi¹² (later than 15th century A D) narrates, in his *Bhadrabāhucarita*, the origin of the Yāpaniya Sangha in this manner. King Bhūpāla was ruling at Karahātaka. He had a favourite queen Nrkulādevī, by name. She once told her beloved that there were her teachers in her paternal town and that they should be requested to come over there for the glorification of the religious rites. The king, accordingly, sent his minister Buddhisāgara who brought those monks after great entreaties. After their arrival the king went forth to receive them in a great pomp, but when he saw them from a distance and found that they were not naked monks, he began to wonder who were these new monks equipped with clothings, a bowl and a stick. He returned home without offering respects to them, he told his wife that her teachers were heretics, and he was not ready to respect them, because they were not Jaina monks. The queen understood that her beloved meant. She hurried to those monks and requested them to give up their white clothes and accept the Nirgrantha asceticism. They gave up accordingly their old robe and went naked with a water-gourd and a bunch-of-feathers. Then the king approached and received them with due decorum. The monks, though Digambaras in form, continued the practices of Śvetāmbaras, it is they who formed the Yāpaniya sangha.

The tradition being very late in time, one has to be cautious in accepting it wholesale and literally. There are some implications of this tradition. The queen perhaps belonged to the Śvetāmbara community, and the Śvetāmbara monks do not appear to have been very popular in the South, if this Karahātaka were to be identified with modern Karhād in Satara district of Maharashtra. The Yāpaniyas are looked upon as a Śvetāmbara schism by both Devasena and Ratnanandi, though they had an outward appearance of Digambara monks.

⁸ Vasunandi's Sanskrit commentary on the Mūlācāra, IV, 32, Bombay 1920.

⁹ Kuvalayamālā, p. 80, lines 17 f, Bombay 1959.

¹⁰ Balavatkārā=Balātkāra, cf. Kannaḍa Baḷa(e) gāra.

¹¹ Kālogra-gaṇa seems to be hyper Sanskritisation of Kaṇḍūra- or Kāpur-gaṇa which is associated with the Yāpaniya sangha.

¹² Bhadrabāhucarita of Ratnanandi, Kolhapur 1921, Ch. IV, 135-54, H. Jacobs: Über die Entstehung der Śvetāmbara and Digambara Seketen, ZDMG, XXXVIII, pp. 1-42, H. Lüders: EI, IV, p. 338.

Yāpanīyas have been looked upon as a heretic creed by some Digambara writers. Indranandi, in his Nīṭisāra¹² (verse 10), includes them under five false sects,

Gopucchikāh Śvetavāsā Drāvido Yāpanīyakah ।
Nihpiñchasceti pañcaite Jainābhāsāh prakīrtitah ॥

The basic meaning of the term Yāpanīya is a question by itself. Various spellings are available for it Yāpanīya, Jāpanīya, Yāpanī, Āpanīya, Yāpuliya, Āpuliya, Jāpuli, Jāvuliya, Jāvīliya, Jāvaḷiya, also Jāvaḷigeḷya. Different interpretations are already offered, tracing it back to the root *yā* with the causal suffix. TELANG explained the term 'as those who wandered about without being stationary'¹⁴. In early texts like the *Pravacanasāra* (III 10) two types of teachers are mentioned *pavvajjā-dāyaga* and *nijjāvaga*. The duty of the *nijjāvaga* is to re-establish a defaulter-monk in the correct behaviour. His function is that of controlling and correctly piloting a novice. The Sanskrit equivalent should be *nir-yāmaka* rather than *nir-yāpaka*¹⁵. The term *jāvanijja* is used in more than one sense in early Jaina texts. In the *Nāyādhammakahāo* there is the expression *imḍiya-javanijje*. Here *javanijje* cannot be from *yāpanīya*, but from *yāmanīya*, going back to the root *yam* to control. We may compare also *thavanijja* stands for *sthāpanīya*. So *yapanīyā* is not the correct Sanskritisation, though a catching back-formation. So the *javanijja* monks (called Yāpanīya) are those who lead life of *yama-yāma*, compare in this context the *śaujjama-cāturyāma dharma* of Pārśva¹⁶.

It is necessary that we gather some details about the Yāpanīya Teachers, so that we can have a better picture of this sangha and of the teachers associated with it in different localities and contexts of events.

The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela has a reading (uncertain) *Yāpa-ñāvakehi* (line 14). Some suspect here a reference to Yāpanīyas, but one cannot be certain¹⁷.

Mrgesavarman (475 to 490 A D) of the Kadamba dynasty has given a grant to Yāpanīyas, Nirgranthas and Kūrcakas, the teacher mentioned in the plate is Dāmakīrti. Further his son (497-537 A D) also made a grant of a village, out of the income of which the Pūjā etc. were to be performed and the Yāpanīya ascetics to be fed for four months. The teachers mentioned here are Dāmakīrti, Jayakīrti, Bandhusena and Kumāradatta, possibly all of them Yāpanīyas. Further Devavarman, the son of Kṛṣṇavarman (475-80 A D) made a donation of a village to the members of the Yāpanīya Sangha in favour of their temple for its maintenance¹⁸.

The Kadamba plates of A D 812 give the following details. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Prabhūtararṣa himself made a donation in favour of a temple presided over by Arkakīrti, disciple of Kūchi (1)-ācārya, who descended from (with a gap of many teachers in between) Śrīkīrti-ācārya of the Yāpanīya-Nandisangha, Punnāga-vṛksamūla-gana. Arkakīrti successfully treated Vīmlāditya, the Governor of Kuningila Deśa, who was suffering from the evil influence of Saturn¹⁹. The Kīraippākkam (Chingalpet, Tamil Nadu) inscription of

¹² Tattvānuśāsanādī-saṃgrahaḥ, in M D J G, Bombay, Saṃ 1975, pp 58 ff

¹⁴ See I A, VII, p 34, foot-note

¹⁵ See my paper 'On the meaning of Yāpanīya' in the Śrīkaṇṭhikā, Mysore, 1972.

¹⁶ Otherwise the expression in the Nāyādhammakahāo cannot be properly explained.

¹⁷ E I, XX, No 7, p 80

¹⁸ I A, VI, pp 24-27, VII, pp 33-5

¹⁹ E C, XII, Gubbī 61

c. 9th century A.D. refers to a Jina-temple, Deśavallabha by name. It was constructed by Amalamudalguru, the pupil of Mahāvīraguru of the Yāpaniya Sangha and the Kumilagaṇa. The donation makes provision for feeding the monks of the Sangha.²⁰

Amma (II) of the Eastern Chālukya family made a grant of the village Maliyapundi (in Andhra) for the benefit of a Jaina temple. The teacher in charge of it was Śrīman-diradeva, the disciple of Divākara and grand-disciple of Jinanandi of the Yāpaniya Sangha, (Koṭi) Maduva-gaṇa and Punyāruha (possibly equal to Punnāgavṛksa) Nandi Gaccha.²¹ Then there is the Saudatti (Sugandhavartti) inscription of A.D. 980. It opens with the mention of Tailapadeva of the Chālukya dynasty. Śāntivarma and his queen Candakabbe are specified. The donation of the land is made by Śāntivarma for the Jaina temple built by him. Here some of the teachers mentioned belonged to the Yāpaniya Sangha and Kaṇḍūrgana, and their names are Bāhubali-deva (bhattāraka) (who is compared with moon, lion etc.), Ravicandra-svāmi, Arhanandi, Śubhacandra-siddhāntadeva, Maunideva and Prabhācandradeva.²² Dr P. B. Desai refers to another inscription from Hosur (Saudatti, Dt. Belgaum) in which the preceptors belonging to the Kaṇḍūrgana of the Yāpaniya Sangha are mentioned. Their names are Śubhacandra (I), Candrakīrti, Śubhacandra (II), Nemicandra, Kumārakīrti, Prabhācandra and Nemicandra (II).²³

It is reported that the image of Neminātha now in the Dodda Basadi at Belgaum, once belonged to a temple in the fort. The inscription on it says that Pārisayya of the Yāpaniya Sangha constructed the temple in A.D. 1013 to which Kattayya and Jakkavve, the mother of Sāhanādhipati (perhaps the same as the Dandanāyaka of the Kadamba ruler Jayakesi) made the gift of land at Kallahalli (near Gokak). It may be noted that Pārisayya seems to be a layman and not a teacher, and his affiliation to the Sangha is specified.²⁴ The Raybag inscription (A.D. 1020) records the gift of land at Hūvinabāge (mod. Raybag) by Dandanāyaka Dāsimarasa to the illustrious preceptor Kumārakīrti-paṇḍitadeva of the glorious Yāpaniya Sangha, Punnāgavṛksamūlagaṇa.²⁵ The Hosur (Dharwar Dt.) inscription of A.D. 1028-29 records the grant of an arecanut garden and house sites made by Āyca-Gavunda of Posavūra to the Basadi. Here are mentioned the Yāpaniya Sangha and (Punnāgyavṛksamūla, not fully readable) the teacher is Jaya-kīrti.²⁶ The Hūli record is found in two parts, the first belonging to the Chālukya Āhavamalla Someśvara (A.D. 1044) and the second to Jagadekamalla (A.D. 1145). These grants are made for the repairs of the Jina temple and for the maintenance of the saints (connected with it). In the first Bālacandra-bhattārakādēva of the Yāpaniya Sangha Punnāgavṛksamūla is mentioned, and in the second is specified Rāmacandrādēva.²⁷ The Mugada inscription of A.D. 1045 refers to Yāpaniya Sangha and Kumudigaṇa. It is the latter that is better specified and a number of teachers are mentioned: Śrīkīrtigoravadi, Prabhāśasāṅka, Nayabṛtūnātha, Ekavīra, Mahavīra, Narendra-kīrti, Nāgabikkī-vratindira, Niravadyakīrti-bhattāraka, Mādhavendu, Bālacandra,

²⁰ A R S I E, 1934-35, No. 22, p. 10, Delhi 1938.

²¹ E I, IX, No. 6.

²² Journal of the B B R A S, X, 71-72, text pp. 206-207.

²³ Jainism in South India, p. 165.

²⁴ Jinavijaya (Kannada), Januray 1931.

²⁵ Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, III, pp. 192-200.

²⁶ S I I, XI, No. 65, Madras 1940.

²⁷ E I, XVIII, also P B. Desai, *ibidem* pp. 174 f.

Rāmacandra, Mūnicandra, Ravikīrti, Kumārakīrti, Dāmanandi, Traividyā Govardhana, Dāmanandi, Vaddācārya. Some names are elusive. But all of them are highly praised with references to their profound learning and exemplary conduct.³⁰ The Morab (Dt Dharwar) record mentions the Samādhi-marana of Nāgacandra Siddhāntadeva, the pupil of Jayakīrtideva of the Yāpanīya Sangha. Kanakaśakti was the pupil of Nāgacandra who is called Mantracūḍāmani.³¹ The Doni (Dt Dharwar) record, belonging to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (A D 1096), is a grant of a garden to Cārukīrti pandita, the pupil of Mūnicandra-traividyā bhāṭṭāraka of the Yāpanīya-sangha-vr̥kṣamūlagāṇa Dāyimaṃyā, the pupil of Mūnicandra Siddhāntideva, wrote the record.³² The Dharmapurī inscription (Dt Bhīr, Maharashtra) records the grant of income from different taxes for the worship of god and for the feeding of ascetics by the Pamcapattana of Poṭṭa-lakere, the Kāncugāras and Telunganagaras. The grant was entrusted to Mahāvīrā Pandita, the Ācārya of the Basadi, of Yāpanīya sangha and Vamdiyūragana.³³ The Kalabhavi record outside the temple of Rāmalīnga belongs to c 11th century A D and refers to the period of Śivamāra of the Western Ganga family. Śivamāra gifted the village Kumudavāda to a Jain shrine built by him and entrusted it to the preceptor Devakīrti of the Mailāpānvaya, Kāreyagana (which are associated with Yāpanīya sangha in the Bailahongal record). His predecessors mentioned are Śubhakīrti, Jinacandra, Nāgacandra and Guṇakīrti.³⁴

The Honnur inscription records the grant for the temple built by Bamma-gavuda, the disciple of Rātrimati-kanti, i.e., a nun by name Rātrimati, of the Mūlasangha, Punnā-gavr̥kṣamūlagana at the time of Ballādeva and Gandarāditya (of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kolhapur), c 1108 A D.³⁵ The Bailahongal (Dt Belgaum) record is of the time of Chālukya Tribhuvanamalladeva. The Ratta Mahāsāmanta Anka, Śāntiyakka and Kundi territory are mentioned. It is a grant to some Jain temple. Muḷla-bhāṭṭāraka and Jinadevasūri of the Yāpanīya sangha, Mailāpa Anvaya and Kāreyagana are specified.³⁶ There is another Hūli (Dt Belgaum) inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya (VI). It refers to Bāhubali, Śubhacandra, Maunideva and Māghanandi of the Yāpanīya sangha and Kandūrgaṇa.³⁷ The inscription at Eksambi (Dt Belgaum) is found in the Neminātha Basadi constructed by Kālaṇ(ṇ)a, the general of Vijayāditya (the son of Śilāhāra Gandarāditya). A land for the temple was given to Vijayakīrti (Mahāmandalācārya) of the Yāpanīya sangha, Punnāgavr̥kṣamūlagana. His genealogy stands thus: Mūnicandra, Vijayakīrti, Kumārakīrti and Traividyā Vijayakīrti. The Ratta Kārtavīrya paid a respectful visit to this temple in A D 1175.³⁸ The Arsikere (Mysore) inscription (c middle of the 12th century A D) refers to the grant made to the Jina temple. In one of the opening verses the Maduvagana of the Yāpanīya (Sangha) is praised. The pratisthā of the image was made by Māṇikaśeṭṭi, a disciple of the Ponnāgavr̥kṣamūlagana and (Yāpanīya)

³⁰ S I I, XI, 1, No 78, Madras 1940

³¹ A R S I E, 1928-29, No 239, p 56

³² S I I, II, III, No 140

³³ A R S I E, 1961-62, B 460-61

³⁴ I A, XVIII, p 309, also P B Desai, *ibidem*, p 115

³⁵ I A XII, p 102

³⁶ A R S I E, 1951-52, No 33, p 12

³⁷ E I, XVIII, pp 201 f

³⁸ A.R. of the Mysore Arch. Dept., 1916, pp 48 ff

sangha, and the teacher mentioned is Kumārakīrti Siddhānta of the Yāpānīya sangha and Maḍuvagaṇa. In another inscription there, the donor is Somayya of the Yāpānīya sangha. Unlike in most of the other records, here the laity are being directly linked with the Yāpānīya sangha. Secondly, the word Yāpānīya, the editor observes, is erased. Thirdly, a word like Kālāmukha-pratibaddha is added later, but it is redundant. Obviously some prejudice is shown against Yāpānīyas, but there is no sufficient evidence to show that they had any Kālāmukha leanings, because the word Kālāmukha itself is added later. It is not unreasonable to presume that one who added the expression Kālāmukha-pratibaddha might have tried to erase the term Yāpānīya for removing inconsistency.³⁷ The Lokapur (Dt. Belgaum) record of the 12th century A.D. notes that Brahma (the son of Kallagāvūṇḍa) erected an image of Purudeva under the advice of Ubhaya-siddhānta-cakravartī, the pupil of Sakalendu Siddhāntika of the Kaṇḍuragaṇa of the Yāpānīya sangha.³⁸ At Tengali (Dt. Gulbarga) there is an inscription of the c. 12th century A.D. on the pedestal of an image. It was consecrated by Bammadeva, the pupil of Nāgadeva Siddhāntadeva of the Vadiyura (Vandiyūra?) gaṇa of the Yāpānīya sangha.³⁹ The Manoli (Dt. Belgaum) record of the 12th century A.D. speaks of the erection of Samādhī of Munīcandra of the Yāpānīya sangha. He was the Ācārya of the Basadi established by Siriyādevī. There is also a reference to the Samādhimarana of Pālyakīrti, the pupil of Munīcandra of the Yāpānīya sangha.⁴⁰

The Adaragunchi (Dt. Dharwar) record of the c. 13th century A.D. marks the boundary of the land given to a Basadi (at Uchchangī) of the Yāpānīya sangha and Kāḍurgana.⁴¹ The mutilated record at Hukeri (Dt. Belgaum), c. 13th century A.D. mentions the name of Traikīrti of some Gaṇa (the name is gone) of the Yāpānīya sangha.⁴²

In the underground cell at Kagwad (Dt. Belgaum) there is a grand statue of Nemi-nātha. There is an inscription on the Nisidi stone which mentions the names of Dharmakīrti and Nāga Bommaras. The date given corresponds to A.D. 1394. There are gaps in the record. The teachers of the Yāpānīya sangha and Ponāgavṛksamūlagana are Nemiandra (who is called Tuluvarājya-sthāpanācārya), Dharmakīrti and Nāgacandra.⁴³

There are some undated records. The Sirur (Jamkhandi) record states that the image of Pārśvanātha-bhattāraka was presented by Kālīsetṭi for the Kusumajinālaya of the Yāpānīya sangha and Vṛksamūlagana.⁴⁴ The Garag (Dt. Dharwar) record specifies the Samādhimarana of Śāntivīradeva of the Yāpānīya sangha, Kumudigaṇa. There is another worn out record which also mentions the same Sangha and Gaṇa.⁴⁵ The Rayadrug (Dt. Bellary) record refers to the construction of Nisidi. Of the eight names mentioned there, we have Candrabhūti of Mūla-sangha and Candrendra, Bādayya and Tammaṇṇa of the Yāpānīya sangha.⁴⁶

³⁷ Ed. S. Shettar, J. of the Karnatak University, X, 1966, pp. 159 ff. (in Kannada).

³⁸ Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, 1942-48, No. 47.

³⁹ A.R.I.E., 1960-61, No. 511, also P.B. Desai, *ibidem*, p. 404.

⁴⁰ A.R.S.I.E., 1940-41, Nos. 63-65, p. 245.

⁴¹ A.R.S.I.E., 1941-42, No. 3, p. 255.

⁴² A.R.S.I.E., 1941-42, No. 6, p. 261.

⁴³ Jinaviṇaya (Kannada), Belgaum, July 1931.

⁴⁴ A.R.S.I.E., 1938-39, No. 98, p. 219.

⁴⁵ A.R.S.I.E., 1925-26, Nos. 441-442, p. 76.

⁴⁶ A.R.S.I.E., 1919, No. 109, p. 12.

There are some other inscriptions which have lately come to light. (i) One at Sedam of 1124 A.D. refers to Prabhācandra Traiṇidya of Maḍuvagaṇa⁴⁷ (ii) One from Bedali (Dt. Belgaum) of 1219 A.D. refers to the Yāpaniya sangha, Kāreya-gaṇa. The teachers mentioned are Mādhava Bhaṭṭāraka, Vinayadeva, kīrti Bhaṭṭāraka, Kanakaprabha and Śrīdhara Traiṇidyadeva⁴⁸ (iii) One from Hannakeri (A.D. 1209 and 1257) Here is reference to Yapaniya sangha, Mailāpānvaya and Kāreya-gaṇa. The teachers mentioned are Kanakaprabha (who is called *jātarūpadhara-vikhyātam*, i.e., known for his nudity or *nirgranthatā*) Śrīdhara, Kanakaprabha-pandita⁴⁹ (iv) On the pīṭha of the first floor of the temple in the Mangalwar Peth, Kolhapur, there is a record in Kannaḍa which states that Vomiyanna got prepared the paṭṭa-śālā, he was the brother of Raviyanna, the pupil of Vijayakīrti of the Yapaniya sangha and Punnāgavṛksamūlagana⁵⁰ (v) Lately Dr Gururaj Bhatt sent me a copy of an inscription from the image at Varang (S.K.) which mentions Kāṇūrgaṇa. He is studying it more closely.

This chronological survey of various inscriptions (from the 5th to the 14th century A.D.) referring to the Yāpaniya sangha clearly brings out certain broad facts about this Sangha. Yāpaniyas, to begin with, were distinguished from Nirgrantha, Śvetapata and Kūrcaka. The Yāpaniya Sangha is associated with Ganas like Kumuligana (or Kumudigana), (Koṭi) Maḍuvagaṇa, Kandur—or Kānur-gaṇa, Punnāga-vṛksa-mūla-gaṇa (also linked with Mūla sangha), Vandiyūra gaṇa, Kāreyagana, and Nandi-gaccha and Mailāpānvaya. This contamination with different Ganas indicates that the Sangha gradually got itself expressed through Ganas, which, as the account of the *Ganabheda* shows, were becoming more prominent in Karnataka and round about. The result is that often only the Punnagavṛksamūlagana or Kandūrgana is mentioned without specifying the Yāpaniya sangha. This should explain how gradually the Yāpaniya Sangha was lost and become mixed with others, especially the Dīgambaras in the South. One of the saints of this sangha is called *jātarūpadhara*, a term generally used by the Dīgambara monks. How the saints of this Sangha compromised their practices and creed are matters for further investigation. According to the Nitisāra (7-8) of Indranandi, the Sanghas were there first, Simha-, Nandi-, Sena-, and Deva-sangha, and later grew gaṇa, gaccha etc. But in later days, as indicated by the *Ganabheda*, Gana division absorbed and superseded the sanghas. This gana-paksapāta is explained in the *śrūtāvātāra* (verse 90) which also indicates how different name-endings like -nandi, -vīra, -deva etc. came into vogue.⁵¹

From the places where the records are found,⁵² it is clear that the teachers of the Yāpaniya Sangha had their sway mostly in the area of the present-day districts of Dharwar, Belgaum, Kolhapur and Gulbarga. The number of records found in Andhra and Tamil Nadu is very small. That no records of the Yāpaniya sangha are noticed at Śravaṇa Belgol indicates that this seat possibly developed exclusive of the Yāpaniya teachers. In Karnataka, it is mainly in the northern part of it that many of the Yāpaniya teachers are associated with the Temple Institution (Generally speaking the preference is for the images of Neminātha and Pārśvanātha). What is striking is that they appear like Trustees

⁴⁷ P. B. Desai, *ibidem*, p. 403

⁴⁸ R. S. Panchamukhi, Karnataka Inscriptions, I, Dharwar 1941, pp. 75-76

⁴⁹ K. G. Kundangar, Inscriptions from N. Karnatak and Kolhapur State, Kolhapur 1939

⁵⁰ Jinavijaya (Kannada), Belgaum 1931 (May-June)

⁵¹ See foot-note No. 13 above, the *Śrūtāvātāra* is also included in that Volume

⁵² See also P. B. Desai, *ibidem*, pp. 164 f

managing the temples and also looking after the maintenance of the Sangha by receiving land-grants from kings and other dignitaries in the society. Such functions are more or less the forerunners of those of the present-day Bhaṭṭarakas in these areas. The existence of the institution of nuns (*āryikā*, *kamtī* or *kṣāntikā*) in the Jaina order has nothing to do with the doctrinal question whether a woman attains liberation in the same birth. This is on par that the doctrine of Ahimsā has never come in the way of the presence of great Dandanāyakas among the Jainas. What is needed is correct understanding of the concept of Strīmuktī and Ahimsā. As it appears, the sangha did not much affect the laity beyond a few individuals and families owing allegiance to some Ācārya or the other.

The terms like Sangha, Gaṇa Gaccha and Anvaya have their meanings changed; sangha and gana are often interchanged, and their exhaustive study, in their relations to each other, is a desideratum.

It is noted above how Indranandī in his *Nīṭisāra* calls Yāpanīyas as Jainābhāsa, and Śrutasāgara has many remarks to make against them, even going to the extent of saying that the statues installed by them, though they are *nagna*, should not be worshipped.⁵⁵ In spite of all this, the Yāpanīya teachers are highly praised in the records for their learning and practice of ascetic virtues, and the Digambaras in the south are worshipping the statues which are obviously of the Yāpanīya Sangha. That shows how the Yāpanīyas became almost one with the Digambaras. At least one instance is there that a Yāpanīya monk is described as jātārūpadhara.

The Yāpanīyas constituted a Sangha, and its teachers were in charge of temples which had lands to support them. It is but natural that these circumstances were quite favourable for cultivating literary activities. Haribhadra (c. 8th century A.D.) refers to Yāpanīya-tantra in this manner.⁵⁶

Strigrahanam tāsām-apī tadbhava eve samsāra-kṣayo bhavati itī jñāpanārtham vacah, yathoktam Yāpanīyatantre no khalu itthī ajīvo, na yāvi abhavva, nā yāvi damsana-virohinī, no amānusā, no anariuppattī, no asamkhejjāyūyā, no aikūramai, no na uvasamta-mohā, no na suddhācārā, no asuddha-bomdī, no vavasāya-vajjiyā, no apuvvakarana-virohinī, no navagunaṭhānarahiyā, no ajogaladdhiē, no akallāna-bhāyanam tī, kaham na uttamadhamma-sāhiga tti ||

Śrutasāgara tells us that they read Kalpa, to be identified with the *Kalpasūtra*.

Śākatāyana, also known as Pālyakīrti, is described by Malayagiri as Yāpanīya⁵⁷, and the references from his Sanskrit grammar⁵⁸ to Niryukti Bhāṣya etc., clearly indicate that some of the texts of the Ardhamāgadhī canon were acceptable to him. He refers to a number of authors, and at least some of them might have belonged to the Yāpanīya Sangha. The Apabhramśa poet Svayambhū belonged to Āpuliya or Yāpanīya Sangha, as indicated by some gloss.⁵⁹ Some scholars hold the view that Vumala also belonged to the Yāpanīya sangha, but this point needs further investigation, by a close study of the *Paumacariya*.

⁵⁵ His Sanskrit comm. on the *Saṭprābhṛtādīsamgraha*, Bombay 1920, p. 79.

⁵⁶ See my earlier paper noted above, also Hemacandra's *Yogasāstra*, B I ed., p. 652.

⁵⁷ My earlier paper, noted in foot-note 1, above.

⁵⁸ *Śākatāyana-Vvākarana* (and the *Svopajña Amoghavṛtti*) with a learned Intro. by Dr R. Bhuve Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha publication, Delhi 1971. See the Intro. and also the General Editorial.

⁵⁹ N. Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, 2nd ed., p. 197.

Śākaṭāyana, the grammarian, mentions himself in his colophon thus ⁵⁸ itī Śrī-Śrutakevali-deśīyācāryasya Śākaṭāyanasya kṛtau Śabdānuśāsane etc This is the way perhaps the Yāpanīya teachers distinguished themselves Even the author of the Tattvārthasūtra, namely Umāsvāti, is described thus

Tattvārthasūtrakartāram Umāsvāti-muṇīśvaram !

Srutakevalideśīyam vande ham gunamandiram ॥⁵⁹

That the sūtras and the bhāṣya show some clear-cut differences with the Ardhamāgadhī canon and Pūjyapāda is not happy with the text of the sūtras in many places The late Pt Premji has given some valid reasons why Umāsvāti must have belonged to the Yāpanīya sangha He has further suggested that Śivārya and Aparājitasūri might have belonged to the Yāpanīya Sangha The former is the author of the *Ārāḍhanā*, quite an ancient text in Prākṛit and the latter its commentator in Sanskrit Some of the contexts in their works are not quite consistent either with the Śvetāmbara or Digambara views ⁶⁰ Likewise Siddhasena-divākara⁶¹, in all probability, was a Yāpanīya, and that is why Haribhadra calls him *Śrutakevali* Siddhasena has his differences with the known doctrines of the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras With the lapse of the time, the temples once presided over by Yāpanīya teachers as well as the images set up by them are today known as Digambara and are worshipped by Digambaras Naturally the literary works produced by outstanding Yāpanīya teachers are mostly current in the South A closer study of the *Paumacarīya* of Vimala, *Padmacarita* of Ravisena, *Varāṅgacarita* of Jatila (who is heavily indebted to Siddhasena and Umāsvāti), *Paumacariu* of Svayambhū etc , is needed

I may note here a striking point According to the *Ganabhedā*, mod Koppal (Koppaḷa) was a seat of the Yāpanīyas, and it is on the Pallakkī Gundu there that we have got the foot-print of Jatācārya or Jatila ⁶² The Kannada poet Janna, who flourished at the beginning of the 13th century A D , assigns Jatāsimhanandi to Kānūrgana (see *Anantanātha-purāṇa* I 17)⁶³ which is so closely associated with the Yāpanīyas When I edited the first chapter of the *Varāṅgacarita*, a controversy was raised whether the author was a Digambara or Śvetāmbara ⁶⁴

It is clear from the above details that plenty of references are found to the Yāpanīyas in inscriptions of the South We have to see whether any references are found in Kannada and allied literature Following more or less the story of the *Brhat-Kathakośa* (No 131) of Harisena (931-32 A D),⁶⁵ the *Vaddārādhane*⁶⁶ in Kannada mentions Jāpuli Sangha The contexts are a bit confused, but both the texts refer to Ardha-phālaka, Kāmbalika, Śvetabhikṣu and Yāpanīya Janna (1209 A D) in his Kannada *Anantanāthapurāṇa* mentions Rāmacandradeva of the Kānūrgana (L 25), and he qualifies Munīcandra Traividya

⁵⁸ Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇam, Kolhapur 1907

⁵⁹ E C , VIII, Nāgar No 46 Though late in age, it is a valuable record of traditional information

⁶⁰ N Premji Jaina Sāhitya aur itihāsa, pp 56 ff, 521 f of the 2nd ed

⁶¹ See my Intro to Siddhasena Divākara's Nyāyāvatāra and other works, Jaina Sāhitya Vikāśa Mandala, Bombay 1971

⁶² My Intro to the Varāṅgacarita, Bombay 1938 Above pp 163, 166-7 etc

⁶³ Ed , Mysore 1972

⁶⁴ Annals of the B O R I XIV, 1-11, Poona 1933

⁶⁵ Singhi Jaina Series, 17, Bombay 1943

⁶⁶ D L Narasimachar, 4th ed, p 93, Mysore 1970

by the expression Jāvaligeṇya which is not being correctly explained. Possibly the same Muncandra with a similar adjective is mentioned in the Kannada *Pārśvanāthapurāṇa* (L. 33) of Pārśvapandita⁶⁷ (A D 1222). In my opinion Jāvaligeṇya stands for his Sangha, Yāpaniya. What is more interesting is that Janna assigns Jaṭā-Sumhanandi and Indranandi to the Kānūrgana which is associated closely with the Yāpaniya Sangha. Janna's praise of various Ācāryas clearly shows that separatist tendencies of ganas etc., were not observed by these poets.

It is seen from inscriptional and literary evidence that the Yāpaniyas have lived hand-in-hand with Digambaras, and some of their temples and images are worshipped to this day by Digambaras in the South. Gunaratna (A D 1343-1418) does not show much acquaintance with the Yāpaniyas, and Śrutasāgara (16th century of the Vikrama era) has hardly any sympathy for them. In fact, even today, some scholars of the orthodox school, not knowing that a few images in the so-called Digambara temples are already of the Yāpaniya sect, still object to the old images of the Yāpaniya sect being installed and worshipped. Titles like Saiddhāntika, Traividya used by some Yāpaniya Ācāryas indicate their studies of Satkhandāgama etc. this point needs further investigation.

Gunaratna, while commenting on the *Saddarśana-samuccaya* (beginning of the chapter IV) of Haribhadra, observes thus⁶⁸

Digambarāḥ punr nāgnya-lingāḥ pāni-pātrās ca | te caturdhā Kāsthā-samgha-Mūlasamgha-Māthuraasamgha-Gopysamgha-bhedāt | kāsthāsamghe camaribālais ca picchikā, Mūlasamghe māyurapicchaiḥ, picchikā, Māthurasamghe mūlato'pī picchikā nādr̥tā, Gopyā māyūrapicchikā | ādyas trayo'pī samghā vandyamānā dharmavṛddhim bhananti, strinām muktīm kevalinām bhuktīm sadvratasyāpī sacivarasya muktīm ca na manvate, Gopyās tu vandyamānā dharmalābham bhananti, strinām muktīm kevalinām bhuktīm ca manyante gopyā yāpaniya ityucyante

Thus Gopya was another name of Yāpaniya. He puts it under Digambara, though *strīmukti* and *kevalibhukti* are accepted by them. That they accepted these views is borne out by the facts that Śākatāyana, beside his Sanskrit grammar already referred to above, has written two Prakaraṇas, Strīmukti—and Kevali-bhukti-prakarana, and these are already published⁶⁹. It is interesting to note that his grammar is more popular with the Digambaras of the South and his two prakaranas are current among the Śvetāmbaras.

Later Śrutasāgara (16th century of the Vikrama era) is not quite tolerant to other sects. He quotes Indranandi's verse which labels Yāpaniyas as Jainabhāsa, and gives some details about Gopucchika, Śvetavāsa, Drāvida and Yāpaniya. About the last two he says⁷⁰

Drāvidāḥ sāvadyam prāsukam ca na manyante, udbhojanam nirākurvanti | Yāpaniyas tu vesarā ivobhayam manyante, ratnatrayam pūjayanti, kalpam ca vācayanti, strinām tadbhave mokṣam, kevali-jinānām kavalāhāraṃ, paraśāsane sagranthānām mokṣam ca kathayanti

⁶⁷ H. Sheshayyengar ed., Madras, 1960, Prof. G. Venkatsubbiah, Editor, Kannada Nigahṭu, Bangalore, drew my attention to this.

⁶⁸ Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha ed., Varanasi 1970, pp. 160-61.

⁶⁹ See the Appendix to the Intro. by Dr. Birwe to the Śākatāyanavyākaraṇa, noted above. Muni Śrī Jambuvijaya is bringing out a new ed. along with the svopajña commentary.

⁷⁰ Śaṭprābhṛtādisamgraha, noted above, p. 11.

JĪVATATTVĀ-PRADĪPIKĀ ON GOMMATASĀRA*: ITS AUTHOR AND DATE¹

So far two Sanskrit Commentaries on *Gommatasāra* have come to light the first is *Mandaprabodhikā* (MP) and the second *Jīvatattvapradīpikā* (JP), and both of them have been published in the Calcutta edition² of *Gommatasāra* (GS) along with the Hindi commentary *Samyagjñāna-chandrikā* (SC) of Todaramalla. The Calcutta edition gives MP upto gāthā No 383 of Jivakāṇḍa, though certain Foot-notes of the Editors³ indicate that they had some more portion with them. Abhayacandra is the author of MP, and it is a matter still to be decided whether Abhayacandra completed his commentary or left it incomplete. In this paper I propose to give some details about JP and discuss the problem of its authorship and date.

At present JP is the only complete and exhaustive Sanskrit commentary available on GS. In fact the credit of making the study of GS sufficiently popular goes to JP. All the modern translations of GS⁴ in Hindi, English and Marāṭhī are based on the Hindi SC of Todaramalla, and this in its turn merely elaborates all that is given in JP. JP follows MP in many details. Most of the technical details given by MP are bodily adopted by JP, at times even by mentioning the name of Abhayacandra,⁵ the opening Sanskrit verses in JP, at the beginning of each section, are modelled on those found in MP, and in the commentary on gāthā 383 of the Jivakāṇḍa⁶ JP plainly says that it would hereafter follow only the Karṇāṭa-Vṛtti because the commentary written by Abhayacandra comes to a stop. As I have noted by a cursory reading, JP quotes nearly one hundred verses⁷, Prakṛt and Sanskrit, besides a couple of Prakṛt extracts⁸ and a few prose Sūtras etc. Many of them can be traced to their sources, but as they stand in the commentary, they are quoted anonymously. Some authors⁹ like Yatīśabha, Bhūtabali, Samantabhadra, Bhaṭṭākalanka, Nemicaṇḍa, Mādhavacandra,¹⁰ Abhayacandra and Keśava Varni are mentioned, and

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¹ This essay is prepared during my tenure of the Springer Research Scholarship, University of Bombay

² Gāndhī-Haribhāi-Devakarāṇa Jaina Granthamālā, 4, Calcutta, this is referred to as Calcutta edition in this paper

³ See pp 615, 898, 1038 etc., of Karmakāṇḍa, Calcutta ed

⁴ For the various eds of *Gommatasāra*, see my paper 'Material on the interpretation of the word Gommatā' in IHQ, Vol XVI, Poussin Number

⁵ See the Commentary on Jivakāṇḍa 13, quoted below

⁶ The numbers of gāthās are given according to the Calcutta edition

⁷ Calcutta ed., Jivakāṇḍa pp 2, 3, 42, 51, 182, 185, 284, 289, 290, 341, 382, 391, 523, 687, 688, 731, 760, 795, 881, 884, 951, 965, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 1000, 1009, 1017, 1022, 1024, 1033, 1097, 1147, 1155, 1191, 1197, Karmakāṇḍa pp 30, 50, 708, 717, 718, 729, 742, 744, 753, 788 etc

⁸ Calcutta, ed., Jivakāṇḍa pp 61, 1080. The Prakṛt quotation on p 1080, I learn from Prof Hiralal, is found in *Dhavalī*

⁹ Calcutta ed., pp 616, 795, 663, 648, 178, etc., 36, 752, etc., of the Jivakāṇḍa

¹⁰ Mādhavacandra has added some supplementary gāthās to *Gommatasāra*, so he is so often referred to

texts¹¹ like *Ācārāṅga*, *Tattvārthavivaraṇa*, (*Prameya-kamala*-) *Mārtāṇḍa* are referred to. On account of its detailed explanations and elaborate charts and tables JP is a valuable source of information on various points suggested and discussed in *Gommaṭasāra*.

JP is not an independent composition in fact the opening verse tells us that it is written (taking material) from a Karnāṭa Vṛtti about the identification of which we shall see below. MP has been fully used, and when MP comes to a stop, JP clearly states that it would follow the Karnāṭa Vṛtti thereafter.

मीमदभयचन्द्रसैदान्तचक्रवर्तिविहितव्याख्यानं विभ्रान्तमिति कर्णाटवृत्त्यनुरूपमयमनुवदति¹² ।

The authorship of Sanskrit JP has been almost a riddle. The following Caupāi of Todaramalla¹³ is enough to indicate that he believed that JP was written by Keśava Varni.

केशववर्णी भव्यविचार कर्णाटकटीका अनुसार ।

संस्कृतटीका कीनी एहु जो अशुद्ध सो शुद्ध करेहु ।

There are similar remarks elsewhere too in his SC which point to the same thing. This view has been accepted and expressed by various scholars who have come to write about GS. Pt KHUBACANDRA¹⁴ not only attributes Sanskrit JP to Keśava Varni, but goes also a step further and remarks that the Karnāṭaka Vṛtti mentioned by JP is that of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya to whom reference is made by the name Vira-mārtāṇḍi in GS Karmakāṇḍa, gāthā No 972. Similar views have been expressed by Pt MANOHARLAL,¹⁵ Prof GHOSHAL,¹⁶ Mr J L JAINI,¹⁷ Śrīmān GANDHI¹⁸ and others. The editors of the Calcutta ed of *Gommaṭasāra* attribute JP to Keśava Varni on the face-page.

Thus Todaramalla and his successors in the field have held the view, without any doubt, that Keśava Varni is the author of the Sanskrit JP. Possibly the following verse, as printed in the Calcutta ed,¹⁹ is the ultimate basis for their view.

भित्वा कर्णाटिकी वृत्ति वर्णिमीकेशवे. कृति. ।

कृतेयमन्यथा किंचिद् विशेष्यं तद् बहुश्रुतेः ॥

As this verse stands, only one construction is possible, and we can easily understand the opinion of Todaramalla and his followers. But the readings of this verse are not absolutely authentic, because there are some Mss of JP which give a different version altogether.

¹¹ Calcutta ed, pp 760, 660, 649 of the Jivakāṇḍa.

¹² Calcutta ed, Jivakāṇḍa p 812.

¹³ Calcutta ed, Jivakāṇḍa p 1329, in other contexts too he has mentioned this, see p 756 of Jivakāṇḍa and p 2096 of Karmakāṇḍa.

¹⁴ *Gommaṭasāra*, Karmakāṇḍa, Rāyacandra-Jain-Śāstramālā (Bombay 1928), Intro p 5.

¹⁵ *Gommaṭasāra*, Jivakāṇḍa (Bombay 1961), Introduction.

¹⁶ *Dravyasaṃgraha* (S B J I, Arrah 1917), Intro p 41.

¹⁷ *Gommaṭasāra*, Jivakāṇḍa (S B J V Lucknow 1927), Intro p 7.

¹⁸ *Gommaṭasāra* with Marāṭhī Translation, Sholapur 1939, Preface p 1.

¹⁹ Jivakāṇḍa p. 1329.

We get the following verses from a Ms of GS with JP in Śrī Aṣṭaka Pannālāla Digambara Jaina Sarasvatī Bhavana, Bombay ²⁰

अत्वा कार्णाटिकी वृत्ति वर्णिश्रीकेशवैः कृतम् ।

कृतेयमन्यथा किञ्चित्तद्विशोध्य बहुश्रुतेः ॥

भीमत्केशवचन्द्रस्य कृतकर्णाटवृत्तितः ।

कृतेयमन्यथा किञ्चित्चेत्तच्छोध्य बहुभूतैः ॥

It is not clear to me why two verses of nearly the same contents are given and what the editor of the Report means by his remark '*pāthāntaram*' which introduces these verses. The first verse supplies us with important variants as compared with the verse followed by Todaramalla, and from these verses it is quite plain that the author of JP does not mention his name here, that he wrote his commentary from the Karnāṭaka Vṛtti of Keśava Varṇi, and that he expects the learned to correct his mistakes if there are any.

The evidence on the basis of which it was accepted that Keśava Varṇi is the author of Sanskrit JP is seriously undermined by the alternative readings of the verse. No other evidence, internal or external, is brought forth to show that Keśava Varṇi is the author of Sanskrit JP, and further that this is based on the Karnāṭaka Vṛtti of Cāmunda Rāya is not at all proved. It is true that GS tells us that Cāmunda Rāya wrote a Desī (which is understood as a Karnāṭaka Vṛtti) on GS, JP mentions merely a Karnāṭa Vṛtti, and there is no reference at all to Cāmunda Rāya, no Ms of Cāmunda Rāya's Vṛtti has come to light,²¹ and there is no possibility of proving that the Sanskrit JP is following the commentary of Cāmunda Rāya. Under these circumstances the alleged evidence to show that Keśava Varṇi is the author of Sanskrit JP is contradicted, and there is no evidence at all to say that this JP is following the Vṛtti of Cāmunda Rāya.

Now let us see who is the author of Sanskrit JP and what Karnāṭaka Vṛtti he is following. I am quoting below the relevant portions from the two Praśastis, one in verse and the other partly in prose and partly in verse, printed at the close of the Calcutta ed. of GS (pp 2097-8).

(1) यन्न रत्नैस्त्रिमूर्तिर्ब्रह्मार्हन्त्यं पूज्यं नरामरैः ।

निर्वाणानि मूलसंधोऽयं नन्ददाचन्द्रताराकम् ॥ ४ ॥

तत्र श्रीशारदागच्छे बलात्कारगणोऽन्वयः ।

कुन्दकुन्दमुनीन्द्रस्य नन्दान्नायोऽपि नन्दतु ॥ ५ ॥

यो गुणैर्गणभृद्भूतो भट्टारकशिरोमणिः ।

भक्त्या नमामि तं भूयो गुरुं श्रीज्ञानभूषणम् ॥ ६ ॥

कर्णाटप्रायदेशेशमल्लिभूपालभक्तिः ।

सिद्धान्तः पाठितो येन मुनिचन्द्रं नमामि तम् ॥ ७ ॥

²⁰ Report I, Vira Samvat 2449, pp 104-106

²¹ R. NARASIMHACHARYA *Karnāṭaka Kavacarita*, Vol I, pp 46 49

योऽभ्यर्च्य धर्मवृद्धयर्थं मह्यं सूरिपदं ददौ ।
 भट्टारकशिरोरत्नं प्रभेन्दुः स नमस्यते ॥ ८ ॥
 त्रिविद्यविद्याविख्यातविशालकीर्तिसूरिणा ।
 सहायोऽस्यां कृतौ चक्रेऽधीता च प्रथमं मुदा ॥ ९ ॥
 सूरः श्रीधर्मचन्द्रस्याभयचन्द्रगणेशिनः ।
 वर्णितादिभक्त्यानां कृते कर्णाटवृत्ति ॥ १० ॥
 रचिता चित्रकूटे श्रीपार्श्वनाथालयेऽमुना ।
 साधुसांगासहेसाभ्यां प्रार्थितेन मुमुक्षुणा ॥ ११ ॥
 गोम्मतसारवृत्तिर्हि नन्दाद् भव्यैः प्रवर्तिता ।
 शोधयन्त्वागमार्त्तिकिद् विरुद्धं चेद् बहुश्रता ॥ १२ ॥
 निर्ग्रन्थाचार्यवर्येण त्रैविद्यचक्रवर्तिना ।
 संशोभ्याभयचन्द्रेणालेखि प्रथमपुस्तक ॥ १३ ॥²²

- (11) यमाराध्यैव भव्योवाः प्राप्ता कैवल्यसंपदः ।
 शश्वतं पदमापुस्तं मूलसचमुपाश्रये ॥ १२ ॥
 तस्य श्रीशारदागच्छे बलात्कारगणोन्वय ।
 कुन्दकुन्दमुनीन्द्रस्य नन्दादाचन्द्रतारकम् ॥ ११ ॥

तस्य श्रीमज्जिमधर्मानुबिबर्धनपूर्णचन्द्रायमानश्रीज्ञानभूषणभट्टारकशिष्येण सौगतसार्वकणादमिक्ष्व-
 क्षपादप्रभाकरादिपरवादिगजगण्डभेरुण्डप्रभाचन्द्रभट्टारकदत्ताचार्यपदेन श्रीविद्यविद्यापरमेश्वरमुनिचन्द्रा-
 चार्यमुखात् कर्णाटदेशाधिनाथप्राज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीनिवास जनोत्तममल्लिभूपाळप्रयत्नाद् अधीतसिद्धान्तेन
 वर्णिताविहिताप्रहाद् गौर्जरदेशाच्चित्रकूटजिनदाससाहनिर्मापितपार्श्वप्रभुप्रासादाधिष्ठितेनामुना नेमिचन्द्रे-
 णाल्पमेधसाऽपि भव्यपुण्डरीकोपकृतीहानुरोधेन सकलज्ञातिशिरःशेखरायमाणखण्डेल्लवालकुलतिलकसाधुबं-
 शावतसजिनधर्मोद्धरणधुरीणसाहसागसाहसहसाविहितप्रार्थनाधीनेन विशदत्र विद्यविद्यास्पदविशालकीर्ति-
 सहायादियं यथाकर्णाटवृत्ति व्यरचि ।

यावच्छ्रीजिनधर्मचन्द्रादित्यौ च विष्टपं सिद्धाः ।
 तावन्नन्दतु भव्यैः प्रपठ्यमाना त्वियं वृत्तिः ॥
 निर्ग्रन्थाचार्यवर्येण त्रैविद्यचक्रवर्तिना ।
 संशोभ्याभयचन्द्रेणालेखि प्रथमपुस्तक ॥
 इत्यभयवन्दिनामाङ्कितायाम् ।

²² The extract from the Bombay Ms. in the Ailaka P S Bhavana shows some minor variations.

To summarise the bare facts, we learn the following details about the author of JP from both these *Prasastis*, and they are confirmed by the Ms in the Ailaka Pannālāla Sarasvatī Bhavana. The author of Sanskrit JP is Nemicaṇḍra²³ of the Mūla Sangha, Sāradā Gaccha, Balātkāra Gana, Kundakūṇḍa Anvaya and Nandī Āmnāya. He was a *śiṣya* of Jñānabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. He was made a *sūri* or was given Ācārya-pada by Prabhācandra Bhaṭṭāraka who was a successful disputant-logician. It is through the efforts of the Jaina king Mallī Bhūpāla of Karnāṭaka that he studied Siddhānta from Municaṇḍra who is styled Traividyā-vidyā-parameśvara. Being pressed by Lālā Varnī he came from Gaurjara country and stayed at Citrakūṭa in the temple of Pārśvanātha built by Jinadāsa Sāha. For the benefit of Dharmacandra, Abhayacandra and other pious people, and being requested by Sāha Sanga and Sāha Saheśa²⁴ of the Khandelavāla family, he wrote his commentary, namely Sanskrit JP, following the Karnāṭaka Vṛtti through the help of Traividyā-vidyā Viśālakīrti. We are told that the first copy was prepared by Abhayacandra who is called Nirgranthācārya and Traividyā-cakravartin.

The metrical *prasasti* agrees with the prose *prasasti* in all the fundamental details, but it does not mention the author's name, viz., Nemicaṇḍra, which is clearly given by the prose *prasasti*. There being complete agreement in the details given and there being no conspicuous contradiction, one has to admit that Nemicaṇḍra is the author of JP according to the *Prasastis*.

Secondly, the colophons of JP at the close of the various sections of GS run thus

इत्याचार्यश्रीनेमिचन्द्रविरचितायां गोम्मतसारापरनामपञ्चसंग्रहवृत्तौ
जीवतत्त्वप्रदीपिकायां etc

Naturally -*viracitāyām* is an adjective of *jīvatattvapradīpikāyām*, and so we will have to attribute the authorship of JP to Ācārya Nemicaṇḍra.

Thirdly, the phrase *ācārya-śrī-Nemicaṇḍra-viracitāyām* cannot go with *Gommatasāra*. This Ācārya Nemicaṇḍra is to be distinguished from Nemicaṇḍra Siddhānta-Cakravartin, the author of GS. In many places JP refers to the author of GS, and almost necessarily he is mentioned with his glorious title Siddhānta-Cakravartin²⁵.

Fourthly, the editor of the Ailaka Pannālāla S B Report plainly attributes JP to Nemicaṇḍra possibly from its colophons.

Fifthly, controverting the opinion that Jñānabhūṣaṇa is the author of *Gommatasāra-ṭīkā* Pt NATHURAM PREMI²⁶ has shown that Nemicaṇḍra is the author, and from the details given by him there it is clear that he has in view JP and its author.

Lastly, the absence of the mention of Nemicaṇḍra in the metrical *prasasti* does not prove anything positive, nor can it support, by any stretch of imagination, the alleged authorship of JP by Keśava Varnī. We know some details about Keśava Varnī, and they do not agree with those given in these *Prasastis*.

²³ The metrical *Prasasti* is written in the first person, so this name is not mentioned.

²⁴ The two *Prasastis* show some variant readings of these names.

²⁵ See for instance p 648 *Jivakāṇḍa*, p 600 *Karmakāṇḍa* of the Calcutta ed.

²⁶ *Siddhāntasāra-saṃgraha*, Māhikāṇḍa D J Granthamālā 21, Bombay 1922, Intro p 12, footnote.

Thus there is no evidence at all to say that Keśava Varni is the author of JP, but on the other hand the above points definitely show that Nemicaṇḍra is the author of JP, and he is not to be confounded with the author of *Gommatasāra*²⁷

As to the Karnāṭaka Vṛtti followed by JP, the two verses quoted above definitely say that Keśava-varṇi's Vṛtti is being followed. Mss of this Vṛtti are available today. I have examined a Ms of this Vṛtti on Jivakāṇḍa belonging to Lakṣmisenā Matha, Kolhapur²⁸. The name of this Kannaḍa Vṛtti also is *Jīvatattva-pradīpikā*, and it is somewhat bigger than Sanskrit JP. It opens with many Kannaḍa verses composed by the author himself. Just as *Dhavalā* is composed partly in Prākṛit and partly in Sanskrit, this Vṛtti is partly in Kannada and partly in Sanskrit (what is known as *manipravāla* style), especially at the beginning of it. Many Prākṛit quotations are found here and there. The gāthās of GS are supplied with Sanskrit Chāyā, and the various etymological discussions are in Sanskrit.

Keśava Varni was a pupil of Abhayasūri Siddhānta-Cakravartin, and he wrote his Vṛtti at the order of Dharmabhūṣana Bhaṭṭāraka in the Śaka year 1281 or A D 1359²⁹.

I have compared Keśava-varṇi's Vṛtti with MP of Abhayacandra, and I feel convinced that Keśava Varni has fully availed himself of the work of Abhayacandra. I have been able to spot out at least one specific reference to Abhayacandra in the Kannada Vṛtti of Keśava Varni.³⁰

Comparing the Sanskrit JP of Nemicaṇḍra with the Kannada JP of Keśava Varni, I find that the former is entirely based on the latter. Nemicaṇḍra has left out portions here and there, the Sanskrit portions are retained as they are, and whatever is in Kannada is literally rendered into Sanskrit. In the case of gāthās on which MP is not available there is nothing in Nemicaṇḍra's JP which is not found in the Kannada JP of Keśava Varni, and possibly it is for this reason that Nemicaṇḍra plainly says *yathā-karnāṭa-vṛtti vyaracī* or *karnāṭa-vṛttitah*.

I may quote here one crucial extract (Jivakāṇḍa gāthā No. 13) from the three commentaries which would show their mutual relation, *Mandaprabodhikā*³¹

देशविरते प्रमत्तविरते इतरस्मिन्नप्रमत्तविरते च क्षायोपशमिकचारित्रलक्षण एव भावो वर्तते ।
देशविरते प्रत्याख्यानावरणकषायाणां सर्वघातिस्पर्धकोदयाभावलक्षणे क्षये, तेषामिव हीनानुभागरूपतया
परिणतानां सदवस्थालक्षणे उपशमे च, देशघातिस्पर्धकोदयसहिते उत्पन्नं देशसयमरूपचारित्रं क्षायोपश-
मिकम् । प्रमत्तविरते तीव्रानुभागसंस्वलनकषायाणां प्रागुक्तलक्षणक्षयोपशमसमुत्पन्नसंयमरूपं प्रमादमलिनं
सकलचारित्रं क्षायोपशमिकम् । अत्र संस्वलनानुभागानां प्रमादजनकत्वमेव तीव्रत्वम् । अप्रमत्तविरते
मन्दानुभागसंस्वलनकषायाणां प्रागुक्तक्षयोपशमोत्पन्नसंयमरूपं निर्मलं सकलचारित्रं क्षायोपशमिकम् ।

²⁷ For the interpretation of this title see my paper 'Gommaṭa', *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Bombay, Vol. II, Cf. *Infra* article No. 8, pp. 217-26.

²⁸ It is a paper Ms measuring 12.5 × 8.5 inches, and it contains 387 leaves. The date of the Ms is given as Śaka 1206 which is apparently a scribe's error, when we remember that Keśava Varni wrote his Vṛtti in Śaka 1281.

²⁹ *Karnāṭaka Kavacarite* (Bangalore 1924), pp. 415-16.

³⁰ See the extract given below.

³¹ Calcutta ed., p. 36.

तु शब्दः असंयतादिष्वयच्छेदार्थः । स खलु देशविरतादिषु प्रोक्तश्रायोपशमिको भावः चारित्रमोहं प्रतीत्य भणितः तथा उपरि उपशमकादिषु चारित्रमोहं प्रतीत्य भणिष्यते ॥

Kannada JP of Keśava Varni ³³

देशविरतनोलं³³ प्रमत्तसंयतनोलं इतरनप्य अप्रमत्तसंयतनोलं क्षायोपशमिक संयममकं देशसंयता-
पेक्षेयिदं प्रत्याख्यानकषायंगलुदयिसरूपदृशचातिस्पर्धकानन्तैकभागानुभागोदयदोहने उदयमनेयददे क्षोब-
माणगलप्यविवक्षितनिषेकंगल सर्वचातिस्पर्धकंगलनंत बहुभागांगलुदयाभावल (क्षण) क्षयदोलमवरुपरित-
ननिषेकंगलप्यनुदय प्राप्तिगलो सदवस्थालक्षणमप्युपशममुंटागुत्तिरलु समुद्भूतमप्युदरिदं चारित्रमोहमं कुरितु
देशसंयममदु क्षायोपशमिकभावमंदु पेलरूपदृदु । अंते प्रमत्ताप्रमत्तार्ग संवलनकषायंगल उदितदेश-
चातिस्पर्धकानन्तैकभागानुभावाडने उदयमनेयददे क्षीयमाणगलप्यविवक्षितोदय निषेकंगल सर्वचातिस्पर्धका-
नन्तबहुभागंगलुदयाभावलक्षणक्षयदोलमवरुपरितननिषेकंगलप्यनुदयप्राप्तिगलो सदवस्थालक्षणमप्य उपशम-
मुंटागुत्तिरलु समुत्पन्नमप्युदरिदं चारित्रमोहमं कुरितिलियुं सकळसंयममुं क्षायोपशमिकभावमंदु पेलरूपदुवुदंबुदु
श्रीयभयसूरिसिद्धान्तचक्रवर्तिगळमिप्रायं । अहंगेयु अपूर्वकरणादिगुणस्थानगळेळं चारित्रमोहनीयमने कुरितु
तत्तद्गुणस्थानगळेळु भावंगलरेयलपुवुवु ॥

Sanskrit JP of Nemicaandra ³⁴

देशविरते प्रमत्तसंयते तु पुनः इतरस्मिन् अप्रमत्तसंयते च क्षायोपशमिकसंयमलक्षणो भावो
भवति । देशसंयतापेक्षया प्रत्याख्यानावरणकषायाणां उदयागतदेशचातिस्पर्धकानन्तबहुभागानुभागोदयेन
सहानुदयागतक्षीयमाणविवक्षितोदयनिषेकसर्वचातिस्पर्धकानन्तबहुभागानामुदयाभावलक्षणक्षये तेषामुपरित-
ननिषेकाणां अनुदयप्राप्तानां सदवस्थालक्षणोपशमे च सति समुद्भूतत्वात् चारित्रमोहं प्रतीत्य देशसंयमः
क्षायोपशमिकभाव इत्युक्तम् । तथा प्रमत्ताप्रमत्तयोरपि संवलनकषायाणामुदयागतदेशचातिस्पर्धकानन्तैक-
भागानुभागेन सह अनुदयागतक्षीयमाणविवक्षितोदयनिषेकसर्वचातिस्पर्धकानन्तबहुभागानां उदयाभाव-
लक्षणक्षये तेषां उपरितननिषेकाणां अनुदयप्राप्तानां सदवस्थालक्षणोपशमे च सति समुत्पन्नत्वात् चारित्र-
मोहं प्रतीत्यात्रापि सकळसंयमोऽपि क्षायोपशमिको भाव इति भणितं इति श्रीमदभयचन्द्रसूरिसिद्धान्त-
चक्रवर्त्यमिप्रायः । तथा उपर्यपि अपूर्वकरणादिगुणस्थानेषु चारित्रमोहनीयं प्रतीत्य तत्तद्गुणस्थानेषु
भावा ज्ञातव्याः ॥

It is clear from these extracts how closely Nemicaandra follows Keśava Varni, how the Kannada style of Keśava Varni is full of Sanskrit words and could be easily rendered into Sanskrit, and how both Keśava and Nemicaandra refer to Abhayacandra

As to the dates of these commentaries, MP is earlier than A D 1359 when Keśava Varni finished his Vrtti In his MP Abhayacandra refers to one Bālacandra Panditadeva³⁵

³³ Kolhapur Ms p 16

³⁴ This commentary is written in what is called Old-Kannada, even those who do not know Kannada can easily compare this with Sk JP, and it is for this purpose that I have transcribed it in Devanāgarī characters Much of it is Sanskrit written with Kannada terminations This is bound to happen, because the author is forced to use various technical terms which are all Sanskritic

³⁵ Calcutta ed., p 36

³⁶ Calcutta ed., Jivakāṇḍa, p. 150.

whom I am inclined to identify with Bārendu Paṇḍita mentioned in a Śravana Belgōla Inscription³⁶ of A.D. 1313, and if it is accepted we are able to push back that date some fifty years earlier. Further I find from their titles and some minor details given therein that our Abhayacandra and Bālacandra are identical, in all probability, with those glorified in Belur Inscriptions³⁷ which inform us that Abhayacandra passed away in A.D. 1279 and Bālacandra in A.D. 1274. So we can tentatively assign MP of Abhayacandra to the third quarter of the 13th century A.D.

Nemīcandra has not mentioned the year when he finished his JP. As he closely follows Keśava Varmā's Vṛtti, his JP is later than A.D. 1359, and further it is earlier than Samvat 1818, or A.D. 1761, because in this year Todaramalla finished his Hindī rendering of Sanskrit JP³⁸. This period is still a wide range, and let us see whether these two limits can be brought nearer. Nemīcandra has mentioned the names of many of his contemporaries like Jñānabhūṣaṇa, Munīcandra, Prabhācandra, Viśālakīrti etc., but these names are so often repeated in the case of Jaina teachers and monks that any identification based on the mere similarity of name has no value at all, and if there is no other evidence, such identifications should not be attempted even. His reference to Mallī Bhūpāla is of special significance. He is mentioned as a king of Karnāṭaka and a Jainottama³⁹. Between A.D. 1359 and 1761 we are not aware of any outstanding Jaina king of Karnāṭaka, and so we will have to understand that Mallī Bhūpāla was perhaps a ruler of some minor state in Karnāṭaka. Turning to Jaina literary references, I find that one Mallī, a ruler, is often associated with some Jaina authors. According to Śubhacandra Gurvāvalī, Vijayakīrti (beginning of the 16th century A.D.) was respected by king Mallī⁴⁰. Being a contemporary of Vijayakīrti he might be put at the beginning of the 16th century. We are not given any details about his place and faith. Secondly, Vidyānandasvāmī,⁴¹ the pupil of Viśālakīrti, is said to have been worshipped by Mallī Rāya, and this Vidyānanda⁴² passed away in A.D. 1541. This also indicates that there was one Mallī king at the beginning of the 16th century. The Hunch inscription makes the point further clear that this king associated with Vidyānanda is called Sāluva Mallī Rāya⁴³. This brings us on a historical ground from merely traditional legends. Sāluva kings ruled over a portion of Kanara district and they professed Jainism⁴⁴. Mallī Bhūpāla is a Sanskritised form of Mallī Rāya, and I feel no doubt that Nemīcandra is referring to Sāluva Mallī Rāya, though he has not mentioned the family. Being mentioned in a record of 1530 A.D., we may put Sāluva Mallī Rāya in the first quarter of the 16th century, and this agrees well with his being associated with

³⁶ *Epigraphia Carnatica* II (Ed. RN), No. 65

³⁷ *E.C.V.* (Ed. BLR), Nos. 131-133

³⁸ *Jaina Hitāishi*, Vol. 13, p. 22

³⁹ See the *Prasastis* above

⁴⁰ *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāṣkāra* I, 4, p. 54, also *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R.I.*, XIII, 1, p. 41

⁴¹ *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāṣkāra* V, 4, pp. 125, 128, etc., of *Prasastisamgraha*

⁴² DR. B. A. SALETORRE has thrown a good deal of light on the personality and activities of Vidyānanda, see *Medieval Jainism* (Bombay 1938), pp. 371 etc., 'Delhi Sultans as Patrons of Jaina Gurus of Karnāṭaka' in the *Karnataka Historical Quarterly*, IV, 1-2, pp. 77-86, 'Vādi Vidyānanda' in *The Jaina Antiquary*, IV, 1, pp. 1-20

⁴³ *E.C.VIII*, Nagar No. 46

⁴⁴ *E.C.VIII*, Intro pp. 13-14, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (London 1909) pp. 152-53, *Medieval Jainism* pp. 318 etc.

Vijayakīrti and Vidyānanda Thus Nemicandra being a contemporary of Sāḷuva Mallī Rāya, we can assign the composition of Sanskrit JP to the beginning of the 16th century A.D.

Pt PREMI⁴⁸ has referred to another *praśasti* of Nemicandra's JP which was published in *Jaina Mitra*, 26th August, 1915. The details given by him are covered by my summary of the two *Praśastis* given above. He does not refer to Mallī Bhūpāla. As he has not given any extracts, we do not know whether this item is omitted by him or was not at all included in that *praśasti*. One important fact noted by Pt PREMI from that *praśasti* is that the Sanskrit JP was finished in 2177 Vira-nirvāṇa Samvat, which, according to the present calculation, stands for A.D. 1650. This date cannot make Mallī Bhūpāla and Nemicandra contemporaries. As the actual *praśasti* is not quoted, it is difficult to judge the merits of this reference. In all probability, A.D. 1650 is the date of the completion of a later Ms. of JP and not of the completion of JP itself.

To conclude, Keśava Varnī is not the author of Sanskrit JP, there is no evidence to say that the Sanskrit JP is based on the Karnāṭaka Vṛtti of Cāmunda Rāya on GS, Nemicandra, who is to be distinguished from the author of GS, is the author of the Sanskrit JP, and his JP is heavily indebted to the Kannada JP written by Keśava Varnī in A.D. 1359, and being a contemporary of Sāḷuva Mallī Rāya, Nemicandra (and his JP) should be assigned to the beginning of the 16th century A.D.

⁴⁸ *Siddhāntasāraśāstrī-saṃgraha*, Bombay 1922, Intro. p. 12

MATERIALS FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TERM 'GOMMATA'

Signification of the term Gommata, which occurs in the popular name Gommaṭeśvara given to the colossal images at Śaravana Beḷgoḷa, Kārkaḷ and Veṇūr and in the title of the Prākṛt text *Gommaṭasāra*, has been subjected to a good deal of discussion¹ The issue, I believe, can be decided by a clear and correct understanding of a few gāthās of *Gommaṭasāra* containing a few words which have been often misunderstood I propose to give here their translations with a few critical and historical notes²

Jivakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 733³

अज्जसेण गुणगणसमूहसंधारि अजियसेणगुरु ।
मुवणगुरु जस्सगुरु सो राजो गोम्मटो जयव ॥

'Victory to Gommata Rāya whose teacher is the preceptor Ajitasena, the tutor of the world, that upholds the range of virtues and the religious order of the respectable preceptor Āryasena'

Notes Repetition of both *gana* and *samūha* tempts me to follow SC which sees a reference there to the Gana, the ascetic order of Jaina monks Possibly the author implies that Ajitasena not only possessed the virtues of Āryasena but was also a support of the Sena-gana Cāmunda Rāya is often mentioned simply as Rāya (Skt. Rājan) which was a title bestowed on him by Rājamalla in recognition of his munificence⁴ Gommaṭa is a personal name and Rāya, a title of Cāmunda Rāya We get the following facts here Āryasena was a meritorious teacher of old, possibly of the Sena-gana, Ajitasena possessed virtues like him and was a support of the Senagana, Ajitasena was held in great respect, as he is called *bhuvanaguruh*, and Gommata Rāya *alias* Cāmunda Rāya was a *śiṣya* of Ajitasena

* Published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XVI, pp 819-26, Calcutta 1940

¹ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IV, pp 270 ff

² The following editions and translations are utilised in this paper

(i) *Gommaṭasāra*, Jivakāṇḍa, with the Hindi translation of Khūtachanda, Rāyachandra Jaina Śāstranālā (RJS), Bombay 1916

(ii) *Gommaṭasāra*, Karmakāṇḍa, with the Hindi translation of Manoharalāla, RJS, Bombay 1928

(iii) *Gommaṭasāra*, with two Sanskrit commentaries, *Jīvatattvaprādīpikā* (JP) and *Mundaprabodhikā*, and a Hindi commentary *Samyagjñānacandrikā* (SC) of Toḍaramalla, Gāndhī-Haribhāi-Devakarapa-Jaina-Granthamālā, No 4, Calcutta,

(iv) *Gommaṭasāra*, Jivakāṇḍa, with the English translation of J L Jaini, Sacred Books of the Jains (SBJ), Vol V, Lucknow 1927.

(v) *Gommaṭasāra*, Karmakāṇḍa, Parts I-II, with the English translation of J L Jaini and Sital Prasādaī, SBJ, Vols VI and X, Lucknow 1927 and 1937

³ Some of these ends. differ in the numbering of the Gāthās I.H.Q., December 1940.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II (Ed RN), Intro pp 14-15.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No 965

गोष्मटसंग्रहसुतं गोष्मटदेवेण गोष्मटं रश्मिं ।
कस्मात्तं गिज्जरद्वं तद्वद्वधरणद्वं च ।

'This text (=sūtra) Gommatā-samgraha by name is composed in an attractive manner (=gommatam) by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (=Gommata-devena) for the shedding of the Karmas and for the ascertainment of the significance of reality or principles'

Notes The word sūtra implies the sanctity and authority of the work Gommatā-samgraha is the name of the text, and it is popularly called Gommatasāra, sāra and samgraha being synonyms JP gives the name of the work as Gommatā-sāra-samgraha-sūtram It is the belief of all Jaina authors that the contents of the scriptures, so far as the present ones concerned, belong to Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthankara of the Jainas So JP translates 'Gommata-devena Śrī Vardhamāna-devena' Gommata is the name of Cāmunda Rāya who is a pious devotee of Tīrthankaras in general and Mahāvīra in particular So Mahāvīra (or any other Tīrthankara, see No 968 below) could be called 'Gommata-tasya devah' Further the author is expressing his modesty by attributing the work to Tīrthankaras Gommatam may be taken as an adjective of -suttam, or understood adverbially following JP which says, 'gommatam=naya-pramāna-viśayam', 'conforming to Nayas and Pramānas', or in other words 'in an authoritative and attractive manner' Taking it as an adjective, it means 'this attractive scripture Gommatā-samgraha' In Marāṭhī the word Gommata means 'fair', 'charming', 'attractive' etc The repetition of the word Gommata with varying shades of meaning appears to me only a way of glorifying Gommata alias Cāmunda Rāya Jināsena also has done like this with respect to Virāsena which name also is given to Mahāvīra⁶ The verse runs thus

भूयादावीरसेनस्य बीरसेनस्य शासनम् ।
शासनं बीरसेनस्य बीरसेनकुशेशयम् ॥

and its clear interpretation is still a desideratum

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No 966

जग्मिहि गुणा विस्सता गणहरदेवादिहृदिपत्तानं ।
सो अजियसेणणाहो जस्स गुरु जयच्च सो राओ ॥

'Victory to that Rāya (i.e., Cāmunda Rāya) whose preceptor is Ajitasenanātha that possesses (literally, in whom are resting) the virtues of Ganadharadevas and others endowed with supernormal powers'

Notes Ajitasena is ranked with Ganadharas, the direct disciples of a Tīrthankara, rddhi refers to some miraculous or supernatural powers acquired by the practice of penances which are of eight kinds Buddhi, Kriyā, Vikriyā, Tapas, Bala, Auśadhi, Rasa and Ksetra In short it means that the saint Ajitasena possessed great merits through penances

⁶ Śaṅkhaṇḍāgama, Vol I, edited by Prof Hiralal, Amraoti 1939, Intro p 37, verse No 17 quoted from Jayadhavalā

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 967

सिद्धतुदयतद्गुणयणिम्मलवरणोमिचंदकरकलिया ।

गुणरयणभूषणांबुद्धिमद्देवा भरत भुवणयलं ॥

'May the tide in the form of wisdom of the ocean in the form of Guṇarathnabhūṣana (*alias* Cāmunda Rāya, also the ocean containing meritorious gems) urged on by the rays of brilliant and full (= *vara*) moon in the form of Nemucandra rising on the eastern mountain in the form of Siddhānta (i.e., the Jaina scripture), flood the surface of the earth'.

Notes Just as the tide of the ocean, which possesses many jewels, incited by the full moon rising on the eastern mount, floods the earth, so also the author wishes that the wisdom of Cāmunda Rāya, who has got the title *guṇa-ratna-bhūṣana*,⁶ might spread or be well-known all over the earth being nourished by Nemucandra possessed of the scriptural knowledge. The verse is full of *śleṣa* and hence somewhat difficult, but the meaning is quite clear. Nemucandra according to the Hindī Translation, might refer to the image of Neminātha erected by Cāmunda Rāya (see Gāthā 968 below). I think, it stands for the author himself who extracted *Gommatasāra* from the Siddhānta, namely, *Dhavalā* etc. Gunaratna-bhūṣana is a title of Cāmunda Rāya and it is mentioned elsewhere too.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 968

गोम्मटसगहसुत्तं गोम्मटसिद्धवरि गोम्मटजिणो य ।

गोम्मटरायविणिम्मिय दन्निस्सणकुक्कडजिणो जयत् ॥

'Victory to the scripture Gommatasamgraha (i.e., *Gommatasāra*) to the Gommatajina (i.e., the image of Jaina Tīrthankara Neminātha in the temple built by Cāmunda Rāya) on the beautiful mountain and to the image of Kukkaṭa-Jina⁷ of the South installed by Gommatarāya (i.e., Cāmunda Rāya)

Notes This is an important verse and deserves a cautious interpretation. First, the author wishes victory to this text *Gommatasāra*. Secondly, he glorifies Gommatajina on the Gommatamūṭha. Earlier scholars⁸ have understood that this refers to the image of Gommatesvara on the Vindhyagiri at Śrāvana Belgola, but their interpretation is wrong for the following reasons. According to the Skt Commentary JP, Gommatajina stands for the image of the Tīrthankara Neminātha, one cubit in height and made of Indra-nīla stone, erected in the temple built by Cāmunda Rāya, and moreover the statue of Bāhubali is being separately mentioned in the second line. We have seen above how our author uses Gommatadeva, or Jina in the sense of Tīrthankara. There is absolutely no improbability in the interpretation given by JP. So Gommatajina means the Jina (-image) of Gommatasāra, that is, installed by Gommatarāya in the temple built by him. This temple is to be identified with the famous Cāmundarāya Basti (see Gāthā 970 below) on

⁶ See the concluding verses of *Cāmundarāya-purāṇa* (ed., Bangalore 1928, p. 111 of the Intro); *Karnāṭaka Kavacarita*, Vol. I, p. 46 of the revised ed., Bangalore 1924.

⁷ Kukkaṭa is the usual form met with elsewhere.

⁸ M. Govind Pai, *IHQ*, Vol. IV, p. 28, also A. Shantirāy Shāstri in his *Karmāṇḍa Śrī Gommatasāra Carita*, Mysore, 1940, p. 22.

the Candragiri at Śravaṇa Belgola.⁹ There appears to be some foundation of facts for the interpretation of JP that it was the image of Neminātha made of Indra-nīla precious stone and one cubit in height. Originally Cāmunda Rāya Basti contained the image of Neminātha is clear from the figures of Yakṣa and Yakṣī of Neminātha at the sides of the Garbhagrha doorway in the Sukhanāsi. To-day the temple contains the image of Neminātha, about five feet high, this is not to be identified with the image installed there originally by Cāmunda Rāya, but it appears that this image was got prepared by Ecana, for a temple built by him some time before A D 1138. The fact that it is the image of Neminātha tempts me to surmise that the original image of Indra-nīla stone not being there, some body has put this image there from another temple founded by Ecana.¹⁰ What happened to the original image we cannot say in the absence of any evidence. In the light of the interpretation of Gommaṭa Jina, Gommaṭa-śikhara literally means 'an attractive mountain', and this meaning is not inconsistent with that of Candragiri. That mount being smaller of the two could be called 'lovely, attractive'. Thus the second item glorified is the image of Neminātha installed by Cāmunda Rāya in his temple on Candra-giri. Thirdly the author wishes victory to Kukkata Jina of the South i e, the colossal statue of Bāhubali at Śravaṇa Belgola installed by Cāmunda Rāya on the mountain Vindhya-giri. The word 'South' distinguishes the image at Belgola from the mythological image of Bāhubali, 525 bow-lengths in height, erected by Bharata at Paudanapura.¹¹

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No 969

जेण विणिम्मियपडिमावयणं सव्वट्ठसिद्धिदेवेहि ।
सव्वपरमोहिजोगिहिं दिदं सो गोम्मटो जयव ॥

'Victory to Gommaṭa (i e, Cāmunda Rāya) who has installed the statue, the face of which is seen (with reverence) by the gods of Sarvārtha-siddhi (i e, the highest heaven) and by the saints that are endowed with full and clairvoyant knowledge

Notes This gāthā only continues the reference to the image of Bāhubali made in the second line of the above verse. The author particularly refers to the face of the colossal image of Bāhubali, and those who have personally seen the image will appreciate it. The serene face of Bāhubali's statue is so charming and impressive that even great gods and gifted saints came to see it.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No 970

वज्रयणं जिणभवणं ईसिपभारं सुवण्णकलसं तु ।
तिहुवणपडिमाणिकं जेण कयं जयव सो राजो ॥

'Victory to that (Cāmunda) Rāya who constructed a Jaina temple, Iṣatprāgbhāra by name, whose foundation is of adamant, which has a golden dome and which is a unique standard beyond comparison in all the three worlds

⁹ EC, II (ed RN), Intro p 6

¹⁰ See R. Narasimha-charva's remarks in EC, II, Intro. p 6

¹¹ ibidem, Intro pp. 12-15

Notes *Īṣat-prāgbhāra* is the name of the domain of liberation¹³, the abode of liberated souls at the top of the Universe according to Jainism. It is really a happy name that can be given by a pious devotee to a temple. I am inclined to believe that our author is referring to the Cāmunḍarāya Bastī on the Candragiri¹⁴ especially because it has a conspicuous and prominent dome or Kalaśa. We cannot expect the golden dome to be there to this day, but the dome on which gold-plating might have been put still characterises the Cāmunḍarāya Bastī. The base of the temple is quite massive, and it stands there at least for the last one thousand years. So our author's reference to its adamantine base is more than justified. Perhaps we are to read *vajjayalam*. Its real name *Īṣat-prāgbhāra* appears to have been superseded by the popular name Cāmunḍarāya Bastī.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No 971

जेणुभिभयथंमुवरिमजक्खतिरीटगकिरणजलधोया ।

सिद्धाण सुद्धपाया सो राखो गोम्मटो जयच ॥

'Victory to that Gommata Rāya (i e , Cāmunda Rāya) who has washed the holy (literally, pure) feet of Siddhas (i e , the liberated souls) by the water in the form of the fresh rays of the crown of the image of Yakṣa on the pillar erected by him.'

Notes This verse states that Cāmunda Rāya had erected a pillar dedicated to a Yakṣa whose crown was studded with jewels. I would suggest that this verse probably refers to Tyāgada Brahmadeva Pillar¹⁴ at Śravana Belgola which, according to tradition, was erected by Cāmunda Rāya, and this tradition is confirmed by an important inscription thereon partly effaced now. Some commentators have implied that the verse refers to a very tall pillar, but the Tyāgada Brahmadeva Pillar is not so tall.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No 972

गोम्मटसुत्तङ्गिणो गोम्मटरायेण जा कया देसी ।

सो राखो चिरकालं नामेण य वीरमत्तंडी ॥

'Eternal (victory) to that (Cāmunda) Rāya by whom (viz , Gommatarāya) was composed a Deśī (i e a Kannada Vṛtti or commentary) Vira-mārtandī by name, while the Gommatasūtra (i e *Gommatasāra*) was being written

Notes The syntax of this gāthā is not quite satisfactory. JP perhaps reads *Vira-mattamdo*, as it takes that phrase as an adjective of *rāo*. JP renders *jā kayā deśī* by *yā deśī bhāṣā kṛtā* and Pt. Todaramalla and others take this as a reference to Cāmunda Rāya's Kannaḍa commentary on *Gommatasāra*. R. Narasimhacharya has not attributed any such work to Cāmunda Rāya¹⁵ it only means that no Ms. of this work has come to light as yet. The opening verse of JP plainly says that it is based on a Karnāṭa-vṛtti. We have no evidence to say that this is a reference to Cāmunda Rāya's work. In Kannaḍa we know

¹³ Trilokaśāstra (Bombay 1918), p. 231, verse No. 556

¹⁴ EC, II (ed. RN), Intro p. 6

¹⁵ ibidem, Intro p. 24

¹⁶ *Kaṣṭhaka Kavacārta*, Vol. I, pp. 46-50

a commentary on *Gommaṣasāra*, *jīvatattva pradīpikā* by name,¹⁶ composed by Keśava-varṇi who finished it in A.D. 1359. He was a pupil of Abhayasūri-siddhānta-cakravartī and wrote the commentary in obedience to the instruction of Dharmabhūṣana. The reading Viramārtanḍī, as it stands, would qualify Deśī; and it would be the name of that Vṛtti. Cāmuṇḍa Rāya had a title Vira-mārtanḍa, which he got by displaying his valour on the battle-field of Gonūr in the Noḷamba war, and it is not unlikely that he called his commentary after one of his titles. If our interpretation of the word Deśī is correct, it means that Kannaḍa, a Dravidian language, is being called Deśī by an author writing in Prākṛit.¹⁷

¹⁶ The Sanskrit commentary, *jīva-tattva pradīpikā*, on *Gommaṣasār* is attributed by many scholars to Keśava-varṇi, but for this there is no evidence at all. My understanding of the available facts leads me to the conclusion that the author of the Skt *jīvatattva-pradīpikā* is one Nemicandrācārya, his commentary is based on Keśava-Varṇi's Kannaḍa commentary of the same name, and this Nemicandra's commentary is perhaps later than *Mandaprabodhā*. I have just stated my conclusion here, and the topic may be taken up later for an exhaustive study.

¹⁷ This paper is written during my tenure of the Springer Research Scholarship, University of Bombay.

GÖMMATA¹

THE word *Gommata* occurs in two important contexts. The three colossal images of Bāhubali at Śravaṇa Belgola, Kārkala and Venūr are popularly known by the name Gōmmateśvara or Gomateśvara², and the Jaina text, *Pañcasamgraha*, composed or compiled by Nemicaṇḍra Siddhānta Cakravartin, is usually called by the name *Gommatasāra*³. It is a significant fact that the word occurs in the secondary names in both the cases. The personality represented by these three images is known by the names Bābhubali, Bhujabali, Dorbali, Kukkuṭeśvara etc., and nowhere in the *earlier* Jaina texts, whether Śvetāmbara or Digambara⁴, is he mentioned by the name Gōmmateśvara, Gōmmata-jina etc. Likewise the title *Gommatasāra* given to that book does not in any way indicate the contents, the significant name of the text being *Pañcasamgraha*⁵.

The Belgola image is the earliest of these three statues,⁶ and as yet no passage in Jaina literature or anywhere else has been brought to light to show that Bāhubali was called Gōmmateśvara prior to the time of the erection of Belgola image. Subsequent to its erection, there are many references to the image as Gōmmateśvara both in the epigraphic and literary records. Many inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgola⁷ mention the image as Gōmmata-deva, +īśvarajina, +īśajina, +īśa, — nātha, — jinendra, — jinapa, — svāmi, +īśvara, +īśvarasvāmi etc., and very rarely simply as Gōmmata. The spelling shows some vowel-variation. Gōmmata, Gummata and Gōmata, but the word is undoubtedly the same. Inscriptions afford some corrupt forms as well. Gōmmatesvara, Gummanāthasvāmi⁸, and these may be taken as scribal errors. The name of the text, however, is uniformly *Gommatasāra*.

The word Gōmmata, in both the places, has to be explained identically for various reasons. It was Cāmundarāya, the minister and general of the Ganga king Rājamalla (A D 974-984), that was responsible for the installation of the image at Belgola⁹ and accord-

* Published in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, II, 1, pp 48-58, Bombay 1940

¹ This paper is prepared during my tenure of the Springer Research Scholarship, University of Bombay

² *Epigraphia Carnatica* II (Revised Ed.), Intro pp 10-18, 1920

³ Available in two parts, *Jivakāṇḍa* and *Karmakāṇḍa*, Rāyachandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay 1916 and 1928

⁴ *Abhidhāna-rājendra* is as good as an encyclopaedia of Śvetāmbara literature, and it does not mention any early sources in giving information about Gomathadeva. What we are anonymously told is that it stands for an image of Rṣabha in the Kalinga country in the North and for that of Bāhubali in the South (Vol III, Ratlam 1913, p 934). The Digambara sources are fully utilised in the Introduction to *FC* II (ed RN)

⁵ *Dravyasamgraha*, Sacred Books of the Jains I, Arrah 1919, Intro p 40

⁶ The Belgola image was possibly consecrated in 983 A D, that of Kārkala in 1432 A D, and that of Veṇūra in 1604 A D

⁷ These remarks are based on my analysis of the references noted in the Index to *EC* II op cit

⁸ *EC* II, Nos 377, 352 (Ed RN)

⁹ *EC* II, Intro p 15 (ibid).

ing to the tradition recorded by commentators¹⁰ it was for this Cāmundaṛāya that Nemicaṇḍra compiled *Gommatasāra* gathering the contents from earlier texts like *Dhavalā*. Though no definite dates are available, this much is certain that Nemicaṇḍra and Cāmundaṛāya were contemporaries and the erection of the image and the composition of *Gommatasāra* are contemporary events associated nearly with the same locality. So any sense that we attach to the word *Gommatā* must fit in the name of the colossus and also in the name of the Prākṛit work.

That Cāmundaṛāya is associated with the Belgola image as well as with the Prākṛit work is an important fact. If we carefully study some of the concluding gāthās of *Gommatasāra*,¹¹ one fact is undisputable that Cāmundaṛāya, who bore the title Viramārtanda, had another name Gōmmata and was also called Gōmmata Rāya. Nemicaṇḍra has wished victory to him in glowing terms. A scrutiny of these verses and the commentary thereon shows that the word *Gommata* is often repeated with slightly different shades of meaning. This repetition of the word, it appears to me, is only another way of glorifying Gōmmata or Cāmundaṛāya. Jināsena also had glorified Virasena in this manner.¹² Besides this contemporary evidence, we learn from an inscription of A D 1180 that Cāmundaṛāya had another name Gōmmata.¹³ To me it appears that it might have been a household name of Cāmundaṛāya.

Remembering the facts that Bāhubali is not called Gōmmatesvara in early Jaina literature and that the term became current only after the installation of the Belgola image, it is easily believable that the image became famous as Gōmmatesvara (*Gommatasya īśvarah*, a Tatpuruṣa compound), 'the deity of Gōmmata', because it was erected by Cāmundaṛāya alias Gōmmata. We have similar cases of deities named after the founders of the temples. Nilakantheśvaradeva, Lakṣmaṇeśvara, and Śaṅkeśvaradeva are the names given to deities consecrated by Nilakantha-nāyaka (Śaka 1051), Lakṣmana and Śaṅkara-camūnātha.¹⁴ And *Gommatasāra* was so named because it was a summary (*sāra*) or the condensed purport of *Dhavalā* etc., specially prepared by Nemicaṇḍra for Gōmmata or Cāmundaṛāya. Once the Belgola image was known as Gōmmatesvara, gradually the name came to be understood as a Karmadhāraya compound (*Gommatasāra īśvarah*)¹⁵ and later on applied to other statues of Bāhubali at Kārkāl and Venūr. That they imitate the Belgola image is a fact.

¹⁰ See the opening remarks of Abhayacandra, Keśavavarṇi and Nemicaṇḍra. The Kannada commentary of Keśavavarṇi is not yet published. The Sk. Commentaries of Abhayacandra and Nemicaṇḍra (who closely follows Keśavavarṇi) are published in the Gāndhī-Haribhāi-Devakaraṇa-Jaina-Granthamālā, 4, Calcutta.

¹¹ *Īvakāṇḍa* 733 and *Karmakāṇḍa* 965-72. These gāthās have been critically translated (into English) by me with historical notes etc., in my paper 'Material on the Interpretation of the word Gōmmata' contributed to Poussin Number, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 2. Cf. previous article, pp. 211-216.

¹² See my paper noted in the above foot-note, *Saṅkhaṇḍāgamah*, Vol. I, ed., by Prof. HIRALAL JAINA, Amraoti 1939, Intro. p. 37, foot-note 1, verse 17.

¹³ E C II (Ed. RN), No. 234, line 16, also p. 98 of the English Summary.

¹⁴ K. G. KUNDANGAR, *Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and the Kolhapur State*, Kolhapur 1939, pp. 18, 65, 40 etc.

¹⁵ *Gōmmata* in its general sense 'pleasing', see E C II (Ed. RN), No. 234, (A D 1180), line 52, where this word is used in the sense 'pleasing'. Possibly it means 'excellent' also, see *ibid.*, No. 251 (A D 1118), line 31, the first occurrence, and No. 345 (A D 1159) line 50, the second occurrence. I have quoted the extracts below.

Though Gōmmata is a proper name in the case of Cāmundarāya, let us see what this term means and whether any light can be shed on its etymology. We have no evidence to say that the word *gommata* or *gummata* is of Sanskrit origin. The form *gomata*, which occurs conspicuously in the Devanāgarī inscriptions at Belgōla, is only an attempt to bring it nearer the Sanskrit phonology¹⁶. Among the Modern Indian Languages, it is in Marāṭhī that this word is frequently used and is still current.

(1) In the text of Drṣṭānta-pāṭha, usually assigned to circa Śaka 1200, the word *gomata* occurs

- (1) बोखटे करीतखांतां कव्हुणी गोमटेयातें न पवे ।
गोमटे करीतखांतां कव्हुणी बोखटे यातें न पवे ॥ दृष्टांत १०¹⁷
- (2) तो म्हणे । कसा बापुडा । गोरा गोमटा । घारे धाकुटा ।
राणीयेचा पूल येसा दीसतु असे ॥ दृष्टांत १३.

(2) This word is repeatedly used in *Jñāneśvari* (Śaka 1212), and Mr PAI has already noted some of the references¹⁸. I may quote a few passages here¹⁹.

- (1) जैतें आंधलेया अव्हांटा । का माजवणवान मर्कटा ।
तेसा उपदेशु हा गोमटा । ओडवळा अम्हा ॥ ३-९.
- (2) हे सायास देखां मोटे । आता कैसेनि पां येकोल फीटे ।
म्हणौनि योगी मार्ग गोमटे । शोषिले दोन्ही ॥ ८-२४३
- (3) तेसे मी वांचूनि काही । अणिक गोमटे चि नाहीं ।
मज चि नावें पाई । जीणें ठेविलें ॥ ९-३३२.
- (4) बोखटे ना गोमटे । या काइसेया ही न भेटे ।
रासि देखो न घटे । सूर्यु जैसा ॥ १२-१९४.
- (5) तेया परी कपिम्बजा । या मरणार्णवा समजा ।
पासौनि निगति बोजा । गोमटिया ॥ १३-१०४०.
- (6) नाना सुद्रव्ये गोमटी । जालेयां शरीरा पैठी ।
होडनि ठाकति किरीटी । मळु चि जेवि ॥ १८-७४.

The number of illustrations can be easily multiplied. Then this word is used in *Anvānubhava*²⁰ also

- (1) सहाय आत्मविशेषे । करावाया आपण वेचे ।
गोमटे काष शब्दाचे । एकैक बानूं ॥ ६-११

¹⁶ FC II (Ed RN), Nos 192, 248, 277, of course it is not implied that the form Gomata is not found in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa inscriptions written in Kannaḍa characters

¹⁷ I owe these extracts to my friend Prof V B KOLATE, Amraoti

¹⁸ See his Kannaḍa booklet *Śrī Bāhubali Gomāṭēśvara Carita*, Mangalore 1939 p 30, footnote 27

¹⁹ V K RAJAVADE *Jñāneśvari*, Dhule Śaka 1831

²⁰ K. K. GARDE *Śrī Anvānubhava*, Bombay 1929

(iii) We find that this word is used in *Śisupālavadhā*²¹ of Bhāskara (Śaka 1195) also

(1) सरोवरां निहटी । घातकी सोनकेसकीची ताटी ।

वरी मांडवी वमिली गोमटी । पांच वर्णेया परागाची ॥ ६५२.

(iv) The word *Gōmaṭa* was in common use in the *Marāṭhā* period as seen from its occurrence in letters contemporary of *Shivājī*. In a letter²² of A D 1677, addressed by *Shivājī* to *Maloji Ghorpade* we get three sentences²³

(1) तुम्ही मराठे लोक आपले आहा. तुमचे गोमटे व्हावे म्हणून पष्ठच तुम्ह स लिहिले असे

(2) सर्व प्रकारें तुमचें गोमटे करून, एविसी आम्हां पासून अंतर पडे तरी व मागील दावियाचा किंतु आम्ही मनांतून टाकीला एविसी आम्हास नी देवाची आण असे

(3) आम्ही सर्व प्रकारे तुमचें गोमटे करावयासी अंतर पडो नेदऊन

In these sentences the word is capable of explaining itself from the context. In present *Marāṭhī* it means '*bare karane*', 'to do good'. In fact the same letter gives a sentence which expresses the above meaning in other words

(1) आपल्या जातीच्या मराठिया लोकाचे बरें करावे हे आपणास उचित आहे

It means that *Shivājī* wishes for their socio-political welfare, in short, general well-being

(v) Mr PAI has already noted an instance from the *Abhangas* of *Tukārāma* who often uses this word

(1) जडोनी गोमटी नाना रत्ने । १००

Even to-day we have the *Marāṭhī* idiom '*gorā gomāṭā*', and one suspects whether this might be after all a doublet. The above usages, selected at random, are enough to show that the word *gomata* is an adjective in *Marāṭhī*, and it means 'fair', 'handsome', 'attractive', 'good' etc. The *Konkanī* dialect also possesses the word *gomto*, and it means the same as in *Marāṭhī*

The use of this word in *Kannada* literature is not explored. There are, however, three passages in the *Inscriptions* at *Śravana Belgola*, and the records belong to A D 1118, 1159 and 1180 respectively. They are reproduced here²⁴

(1) गोम्मटमेने मुनिसमुदा-

य मनदोलु मेधि सुत्तु

गोम्मटदेवर पूजेग-

दं मुददिं बिट्टनस्ते श्रीरोदात्तं ।

²¹ V L BHAVE *Śisupāla-vadhā*, Thana Śaka 1848

²² My friend Prof Dr A G PAWAR, Kolhapur, kindly drew my attention to this record

²³ *Śivakālīna-patrasārasaṃgraha*, Vol 2, Poona 1930, Letter No 1901, pp 559-61

²⁴ E C II (Ed RN), 251, 345 and 234

- (2) गौम्मटपुरमूषणमिदु
 गौम्मटमाय्येने समस्तपरिहरसहितं ।
 सम्मद्विं हुल्लवम्-
 पं माहिसिद्धं जिनोत्तमालयमनिद्धं ॥
- (3) तम्मने पोदरेज्जुजरेल्लमेय्ये तपके नीनुमि-
 तम्म तपक्क बोदोडेनगीसिरियोप्पदु वेहेनुमु-
 णं मनमिल्लु मन्नुमिगेयुं बगेगोल्ले दीक्षेगोडे नी-
 गोम्मटदेव निज तरिसंदळवार्यजनके गौम्मटं ॥

In these passages it means 'pleasing' 'excellent' Besides it occurs in many proper names²⁵ Telugu gives us a word *gummaḍu* which means 'one who decks himself' In South Kanara the image of Gōmmata-deva is popularly called 'Gummaḍa Devar' In Tamil we have a word *kummta* but as far as I see it has no semantic connection with *Gommata* The origin and the etymology of this word deserve further study Perhaps the word comes from the South Indian stock It is not possible to connect it easily with any Sanskrit root There is however the Dhātvādeśa *gummada* equated with the root *muh* by the Prākṛit grammarians²⁶, and it is not unlikely if our word comes from this Dhātvādeśa with the causal meaning Thus all that we know about this word is that the earliest occurrence of the word, apart from the proper names, is in a Kannaḍa Inscription of A D 1118, that the word is often used in Marāṭhī literature, and it is current even to-day in Marāṭhī and Konkani, and the meanings attached to this word do show a semantic connection I do hope that some linguist would throw more light on this word It is quite plain that the word *gommata* should not be confused with another word spelt as *gumat* etc, used in various Modern Indian languages to signify a cupola, dome, arch, vault, arched roof and so forth The latter comes from the Persian *gumbad* > *gummaḍ* and it is pronounced *gummat*, *ghumta* and so forth

The consonant *t* in the word *gommata* is not changed to *d* even in the Prākṛit verses of *Gommataśāra* It may be justified to a certain extent on the ground that it was a personal and popular name of Cāmunḍa Rāya, and as such it is retained as a proper name

Thus I conclude that Gōmmata was a personal name of Cāmunḍarāya, the image of Bāhubali being respectfully installed by him came to be called Gōmmataśvara, and lastly the summary of *Dhavalā* etc, prepared for him by Nemicaṇḍra was called *Gommataśāra*. Literally the word means 'excellent' etc

Before I finish this article it is necessary for me to review some of the discussions of earlier scholars who have touched the various aspects of the above subject and have arrived at different conclusions though the facts are the same

Pt PREMI remarks²⁷ 'On account of the image of Gōmmataśa Cāmunḍarāya became so famous that he came to be called Gōmmatarāya' PREMIJI has not given any reasons

²⁵ Gommatapura, Gommatasetti etc, see the Index to E C II, Gummatadeva (*Kaṇṇarite* I, 196)

²⁶ Hemacandra's Prākṛit Grammar VIII. iv 207 and *Deśināmamālā* II, 92-93, also Trivikrama's Grammar III, i, 131

²⁷ *Trilokaśāra*, Māṇikachandra D J Granthamālā No 12, Bombay Saṃvat 1975, Intro p 8.

for his conclusion; so I may just note down the difficulties against such a conclusion. No evidence is brought forth to show that Bāhubali was called Gōmmaṭa before the erection of the Belgoḷa image. Rāya was a well-known title of Cāmunda-rāya, and if it is supposed that Gōmmata meant Bāhubali, how can we explain the compound Gōmmatarāya? The image is usually called Gōmmata-deva, -nātha etc., and very rarely and in later records simply as Gōmmaṭa. I think, PREMIJI's conclusion needs further proofs in the absence of which it cannot be accepted.

Explaining the name and origin of *Gommatasāra*, J. L. JAINI says,²⁸ 'The author has called Śrī Vardamāna or Mahāvīra by the name of Gōmmatadeva. The word Gōmmaṭa is probably derived from 'go' speech, and 'mata' or 'matha' abode meaning 'the Abode of speech', the Lord from whom flows the letterless voice, the wonderful music, Divya-dhvanī. Sāra means the essence, the condensed purport. The word *Gommatasāra* would thus mean the 'Essence of Discourses of Lord Mahāvīra'. Cāmunda Rāya was also called Rājā Gōmmaṭa most probably on account of his great devotion to Śrī Gōmmata Deva or Lord Mahāvīra. As a compliment to the Great questioner (viz., Cāmunda Rāya), the compilation has been called *Gommatasāra* after his name'. I have explained elsewhere²⁹ in what sense Gōmmata-deva could be equated with Mahāvīra. As long as it is not proved that Gōmmata is a Sanskrit word, any attempt to give a Sanskrit etymology is irrelevant. It may exhibit only the grammatical ingeniousness of the writer and nothing more, but such speculations, howsoever amusing, have no place in sober history and etymology. Perhaps JAINI is following some Sanskrit commentator.

Mr M. GOVIND PAI³⁰ has written an exhaustive article on this subject, and his views have been often repeated by himself³¹ and others in the last few years. Though rich in information, his paper is full of dubious and speculative deductions from his own interpretations of facts and negative evidences, and one often suspects that he is arguing in a vicious circle taking probabilities as facts. Many direct and indirect issues are mixed up, and some of his reservations and questions are far from being consistent. However, the following points appear plain to me in his discussion, and I shall enumerate them in his own words as far as possible.

1 Bāhubali being a Kāmadeva could be called Manmatha of which Gōmmata is a Tadbhava in Kanarese (or in Konkani, according to his postscript) which probably borrowed it from Marāṭhi.

2 Belgoḷa image, installed in 981 A.D., had not become famous as Gōmmateśvara till 993 A.D., because *Ajṭapūrāṇa* of Ranna mentions the image as Kukkuteśvara and not Gōmmateśvara.

3 Cāmunda-rāya had no name as Gōmmaṭa, or -rāya till at least 933 A.D. because Belgoḷa inscription No. 281, *Cāmunda-rāya-purāṇa* and *Cārītrasāra* do not mention any such name.

²⁸ *Gommatasāra-Ṣivakāṇḍa*, with English Translation etc., by J. L. JAINI, SBJ V, Intro, pp. 5-6, I have added the necessary disjunctive points in this passage.

²⁹ See my paper 'Material on the Interpretation of the word Gōmmaṭa', IHQ, Vol. XVI, No. 2 Cf. previous article.

³⁰ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 270-86.

³¹ *Jaina Sādhānta Bhāṣakāra*, Arrah, IV, 11, pp. 102-109, *Śrī Bāhubali Gomateśvara Caritra*, Mangalore 1939; *Jaina Antiquary*, Arrah, VI, 1, pp. 26-34, etc.

4. According to Doḍḍayya's *Bhujabalisataka* (A.D. 1550) the Gōmmata of Paudanapura (erected there by Bharata) manifested himself on Vindhyaḡiri. So the name of the image was Gōmmaṭa since long, and Cāmundarāya not being called Gōmmaṭa, it can be said that Cāmundarāya got his name from that of the image

5 Neither the image nor Cāmundarāya had any name as Gōmmata at the time of the installation, because the contemporary inscriptions do not mention anything. Cāmundarāya had a title Rāya.

6 *Gommatasāra*, which mentions Gōmmaṭa as a name of Cāmundarāya, must have been written after 993 A.D., and *Trilokasāra*, which does not mention this, might have been composed between 981-84 A.D.

7 Nemicaṇḍra himself gave the name Gōmmaṭa to Cāmundarāya from that of the image after it was installed. It is unlikely that Cāmundarāya being old could be called Gōmmaṭa which has a sensual sense meaning Manmatha.

8 The image was the first to be called Gōmmata, and this explains terms like Gōmmata-jina, Gōmmata-pura etc.

9 If the Beḡgola image was called Gōmmaṭadeva from the name of the installer, the Kārkaḡ and Venūr images should also have been called after the names of their installer, but as they too are called Gōmmata, it must have been the name of Bāhubali.

Let us now see the validity of these conclusions and the cogency of the arguments.

1 Bāhubali being a Kāmadeva could be called Manmatha that is acceptable, but the linguistic equation *manmatha*=*gammaha*=*gommata* is the weakest stone in the grandiose structure of Mr. PAI's essay. Prof. K. G. KUDANGAR had rightly questioned the validity of this equation, but Mr. PAI, without adding further evidence to strengthen his position, treated him with a sarcastic foot-note²² which has evoked a long and learned note from Prof. KUNDANGAR²³ who has conclusively shown that *manmatha*=*gammaha* has no support in the entire range of Prākṛt grammatic literature, that one isolated case in *Prākṛta-mañjari*, a late commentary on Vararuci's Sūtras, being a misprint that could be easily detected by a careful study of the relevant sūtras and by comparing their interpretation in earlier commentaries. To establish his equation Mr. PAI argues like this:

'In the 'Prākṛtamañjari' of Kātyāyana, the rule governing the change that the double sound 'nm' undergoes is laid down as 'nmo mah' (III. 42) wherefore the Sanskrit word 'Manmatha' meaning 'cupid' becomes 'Gammaha' in Prākṛit. (1) The sounds of the dental class, when final in a Sanskrit word, change into cerebrals in Kanarese—S. Granṡi (a knot)=K. Gaṇṡi (or Gaṇṡu), S. Śradhā (confidence, trust, faith)=K. Saḡḡe, S. tāna (in music)=K. tāna, S. pattana (a city)=K. paṡṡana, S. patha (patha)=K. baṡṡe etc., therefore the final 'th' of the word 'Manmatha' would not retain in Kanarese the final 'h' sound it has in the Prākṛt (Gammaha), but would naturally change into a 'ṡ', and thus the S. 'Manmatha'=Pkt. Gammaha would become, in its Kanarese Tadbhave form, 'Gammata'. (2) In Kanarese words, the initial 'a' sound alternates with the short 'o' (as in the English word

²² In his Kannaḡa booklet noted above.

²³ Prof. KUNDANGAR's article is awaiting publication with *Karṇāṡaka Sāntya Pariṡatpatṛike*, Bangalore.

'not') sound—e.g., (1) magu (a child)=mogu, mammaga (grandson)=mommaga; magacu (to subvert)=mogacu, tappalu (valley)=toppalu, daḍḍi (cowshed)=doddi, sappu (dry leaves)=soppu, maḷa (a cubit)=moḷa etc. Therefore it is an easy and inevitable passage from Gammaṭa to Gömmata' etc

Prākritamañjarī is a late commentary on the Sūtras of Vararuci (according to some, the same as Kātyāyana), so it is wrong to attribute this commentary to Kātyāyana. Mr PAI silently passes over another specific sūtra *manmathe vah* (11 36) according to which the initial *m* is changed to *v* in the word *manmatha*. The reading *gammaha* given in the commentary is a plain error or a misprint for the following reasons (i) Sūtra 111 42 lays down the change of *nm* and has nothing to do with the change of initial *m*, (ii) the change of initial *m* into *v* is specifically dictated by the Sūtra 11 36, (iii) and lastly, as shown by Prof KUNDANGAR, the form *gammaha* is noted neither by any other commentator on the same sūtras nor by any other Prākṛit grammar or lexicon. The usual Prākṛit word is *vammaha* for *manmatha*. Unless the equation *manmatha*=*gammaha* is proved to be valid, all the following arguments are valueless. Further the analogies like *śraddhā*, *grantha* etc., are no real parallels, because they are subject to phonetic rules like the cerebral law which do not affect the word *manmatha*. His reasoning may appear to be formally correct, but it is all deceptive philology. I think, Mr PAI is not quite aware of the pitfalls of analogical reasoning especially in the field of Prākṛits and Modern Indian languages. If his method is adopted, any word may be changed into any form. By stepping into the footsteps of the logic adopted by Mr PAI, I may show that even *kukkuta* can be equated with *gommata* or *gummata* when Sanskrit words are taken into Kannada, the initial *k* is often changed to *g*, for instance, *kuti*=*guṭi*, *kote*=*gode* etc. (*Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa* 256). In Prākṛit *k* is changed to *m* in the word *candrikā* (*Prākṛita-mañjarī* 11 5), so a duplicate *kk* can be changed into *mm*. The vowel *u* is sometimes changed to *a* in Kannada *kustumburu*=*kottumbari* (*SM* 287), *mānuṣyam*=*mānsam* *SM* 273). Thus *kukkuta* is changed to *gummata*. Mr PAI cannot object to this procedure, as he himself has adopted it. But this is all joking with phonetics and running amuck on the slippery ground of philological speculation. So Mr PAI's equation *manmatha*=*gammaha* is not at all proved.

2 If Mr PAI starts with the equation *Bāhubali*=*Kāmadeva*=*Manmatha*>*Gömmaṭa*, though unproved as seen above, it is a self-contradiction to say that the image could not have been called *Gömmateśvara* till 981 or 993 A.D. *Bāhubali* is known as *Kāmadeva* from pretty early times. So either Mr PAI should give up the equation or admit that *Bāhubali* was called *Gömmaṭa* from early times. If he adopts the second alternative, he will have to show early passages in which *Bāhubali* is called *Gömmateśvara*. He might say that Bharata had erected the image of *Gömmaṭa* at Paudanapura, but for this there is no contemporary evidence, and he is relying on the statement of Doḍḍayya who flourished in the middle of the 16th century A.D. That Ranna mentions *Kukkuteśvara* and not *Gömmateśvara* does not prove anything, because it is not a positive evidence. If we take into account self-consistency and the interpretation of the commentators, even *Gommataśāra* mentions *Kukkuta* Jina and not *Gömmateśvara* to designate *Bāhubali*. If Doḍḍayya does not call *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya* by the name *Gömmata*, are we justified in saying that *Gömmaṭa Rāya* was not his name at all upto 1550 A.D.? In fact one of Mr. PAI's remarks implies this position.

3. Again this is a case of negative evidence and of an argument *ex silentio* which do not prove anything. As I have suggested above, Gōmmata appears to have been a personal name of Cāmunda Rāya, and as such may not figure everywhere, nor do the records claim that they are enumerating all the names of Cāmunda Rāya.

4. By admitting that the Paudanapura image was called Gōmmata on the authority of *Bhujabali-sataka* of Dōddayya (A.D. 1550), MR PAI is only contradicting his another conclusion that the image was not known as Gōmmata upto 981 or 993 A.D. He forgets that he is using a record of the 16th century to prove a fact of Bharata's time.

5. A negative evidence and an argument *ex silentio* do not prove anything.

6. We do not know the exact dates of the composition of *Gommata-sāra* and *Triloka-sāra*, nor are there any definite evidences to arrive at them. These dates are proposed by MR PAI himself from the mention or the non-mention of the name Gōmmata, and we would be arguing in a vicious circle, if we take the support of these dates to settle the limits of the period of the usage of the word Gōmmata as a name for Bāhubali.

7. We have no evidence to say that Nemicaandra gave the name Gōmmata to Cāmunda Rāya, and I fear that the plain fact is being slightly twisted here. All that we know is that Nemicaandra mentions Gōmmata as a name of Cāmunda Rāya, and this does not prohibit the position that he had already a name like that. That Cāmunda Rāya got the name from that of the image would be acceptable only when it is first proved that Bāhubali had a name Gōmmata before the erection of the Belgola image. The equation Manmatha=Gōmmata has already failed, nor Dōddayya's reference to Paudanapura Gōmmata can come to our rescue. That Gōmmata has a sensual meaning is deduced from the above equation which is already exploded, and as such the argument loses all force. That Cāmunda Rāya was old and therefore could not have been called Gōmmata is a meaningless argument that presupposes certain evidences which are either exploded above or not at all available.

8. The equation Manmatha-Gōmmata not being established, it remains still unproved that Bāhubali had a name Gōmmata. But on the other hand, *Gommata-sāra* definitely gives Gōmmata as a name of Cāmunda Rāya, and his deity, the statue of Bāhubali could be called Gōmmataśvara etc. Gōmmata-jina mentioned by *Gommata-sāra* has nothing to do with Bāhubali.³⁴ I do admit the possibility that once the image became famous as Gōmmata-deva many things could be associated with this name in later days.

9. MR PAI himself has answered this question at the beginning of his article, and I might only quote his words to refute his heated argument. 'It may also be noted here that the *earliest* of the three colossi, viz., the one installed by Cāmunda Rāya (or Cāvunda Rāya) at Śrāvana Belgola, first came to be popularly called by the name "Gōmmata" etc (or "Gommataśvara" etc.), and when in course of time, similar colossi were installed at Kārkaṭa and Venur, they also were called alike after their great archetype at Śrāvana Belgola.' By asking why the last two are not named after their founders, he only contradicts his earlier statement which is more reasonable.

³⁴ See my article 'Material on the Interpretation of the Word Gōmmata' *IHQ*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Cf. previous article.

Besides these main arguments, there are many other minor points which have no direct bearing on the present topic, so they do not require any elaborate refutation. His speculations on the phonology of Gōmatta, his remark that Konkani was derived from Māgadhi or Ardha-Māgadhi etc., do not deserve to be taken too seriously.

PT. A. SHANTIRAJ SHASTRI²⁵ has lately touched this topic in a short note, and on many points we are in agreement. He too says that Nemicandra has called Bāhubali by the name Gōmaṭa, but he has not quoted any specific passage to prove his remark. To explain the change of *ḍ* to *ṭ* in the word *gummada*, he quotes Sūtra No. III, 11. 65 from Trivikrama's Prākṛit grammar, but I must point out that it is a specific sūtra meant only for the Cūlikā-Paiśācī dialect and it cannot be applied anywhere and everywhere. This change can be explained by saying that either it might imply the tendency to Sanskritise the word, or it is an illustration of the tendency of some South Indian languages which often harden the soft consonants. After all this is a probable explanation. It is however certain that we are not justified in applying that Sūtra to the present case.

MR. K. P. MITRA²⁶ has lately contributed a paper on Bāhubali. Though he follows MR. PAI in many respects in his discussion about Gōmmata, he rightly remarks in footnote that *mammaha* or *vammaha* is the recognised equivalent of *manmatha* and he leaves it as an open question whether *gammaha* could be equated with *manmatha*.

²⁵ *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāṣaka* VII, 1, p. 51 and his Kannaḍa booklet, *Śrī Gommatasūrya Carita*, Mysore 1940.

²⁶ *The Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. VI, 1, p. 33.

HASTIMALLA AND HIS ĀDIPURĀNA¹

AUFRECHT in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* (Leipzig 1891), p 764, mentions an author Hastimallasena. He is described as a Jaina, and the following works are attributed to him (1) *Arjunarāja-nātaka* (OPPERT II, 316), (2) *Udayanarāja-kāvya* (OPPERT II, 421), (3) *Bharatarāja-nātaka* (OPPERT II, 325), (4) *Megheśvara-nātaka* (OPPERT II, 326) and (5) *Maithilīparinaya-nātaka* (OPPERT II, 327). Further we are informed that other poems and plays of his are in existence. He has drawn his information from OPPERT's 'Lists of Sanskrit Mss in Private Libraries of Southern India, Vols I, II, Madras 1880-85'. Against *Udayanarāja-kāvya* AUFRECHT mentions Mallasena, elsewhere Hastimallasena. M KRISHNAMACHARIAR² writes, not without some hesitation, the name simply as Hastimalla, and attributes to him, besides the above works, some more compositions (6) *Ādipurāna*, (7) *Purucarita*, (8) *Subhadrāharana*, (9) *Añjanā-pavanañjaya* and (10) *Vikrānta-kaurava*. R NARASIMHACHARYA³ has noted *Ādipurāna* of Hastimalla, composed in A D 1290, on the authority of K B PATHAK, but no exact reference to his article is given. Another work (11) *Śrīpurāna* is also attributed to Hastimalla, and the Mss of this, I learn, exist in the Jaina Mathas of Mudabidri and Varanga in South Kanara.

Of these works Nos 5 and 10 are already published,⁴ and I have examined three Mss of No 9 and two Mss of No 8.⁵ No 5 is known by the names *Maithilīkalyānam* and *Sītā-nātaka*, No 8 is known as *Subhadrā-nātakā* (-*nātikā*?), and No 10 as *Sulocanā-nātakam*. From these four Sanskrit plays, we get the following details about Hastimalla.

Hastimalla's spiritual lineage is traced back to Samantabhadra, the moon is in the sky of Mūlasamgha, a future Tirthakara, the author of *Gandhahasti*, a commentary on *Tattvārtha-sūtra* and of *Devāgama* and an unsurmountable disputant. He had two pupils, Śivakoti and Śivāyana, that had studied the entire scripture at his feet. In that line was born Virasena, an outstanding personality free from internal impurities, well-versed in scriptures and a foremost logician. The great monk Jinasena received instructions from him and became his prominent pupil, and his Purāna is well-known in the world. His beloved pupil was the monk Gunabhadra who glorified the Śālākāpurusas. Three verses are found at the end of a Ms of *Subhadrā-nātikā* in which one Prabhendu or Prabhācandra is glorified, but his exact relation with Hastimalla's line is not at all clear.

Turning to the domestic details, as time passed on, in this succession of pupils of Gunabhadra there was one Govindabhatta of Vatsa Gotra who came to be endowed with

¹ Published in the Kape Felicitation Volume, pp 526-29, Poona 1941.

² This Paper is prepared during my tenure of the Springer Research Scholarship, University of Bombay.

³ *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, pp 641, 1114.

⁴ *Kavicarita*, Vol I, Bangalore, 1924, p 399.

⁵ Māṇikachandra D Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay, Nos 3 and 5. There is a short Introduction giving a few details about the author.

⁶ I am collecting the Mss of these two Sanskrit plays with a view to edit them.

right faith (in Jainism) by hearing *Devāgamanasūtra*. He had six sons all staying in the South (*dākṣiṇātyāh*) and flourishing through the favour of Svarnayakṣī (*Jayanty atra Svarnayakṣī-prasādatah*); and their names are Śrī Kumāra-kavi, Satyavākya, Devaravallabha, Udayabhūṣana, Hastimalla and Vardhamāna. All these were poets. The last verse of the *Prasasti*, as I understand it, is a prayer offered to Vrsabhanātha, consecrated at Dvīpamgudi, profusely respected by Hastimalla and saluted by some Pāndya king. This Hastimalla (-Bhaṭṭa) was the son of Govinda (with the suffix -bhatta or with the prefix Bhaṭṭāra-) and he had six brothers, himself being the fifth in order. His father appears to have been a convert to Jainism after hearing *Devāgama-stotra* of Samantabhadra. His brother Satyavākya is the author of various compositions, but only one work is mentioned by Hastimalla, namely, *Śrīmattī-kalyāṇa*.⁶ From the verse found in *Añjanā-pavanañjaya* we learn that Hastimalla lived under the patronage of some Pāndya king who had subdued Karnāṭaka.

Brahmasūri,⁷ the author of *Pratiṣṭhā-tulaka*, belonged to the family of Hastimalla. Besides giving the above details he adds some more facts. Pārśvapandita was the son of Hastimalla, and he was well-known for his learning and piety. For some reason or other, he migrated to the town of Chatra-traya-puri in the Hoysala territory, and there he lived with all his relatives. He had three sons: Candrapa, Candranātha and Vaijaya. Candranātha and his family stayed at Hemācala, while his other brothers migrated elsewhere. Brahmasūri was the grandson of Candrapa.

All that we can say about the chronology of his works is that Hastimalla wrote *Añjanā-pavanañjaya* earlier than *Maṭhulī-kalyāṇam*.

As to Hastimalla's age, he is later than Gunabhadra who finished his *Uttarapurāṇa* in A.D. 897. *Jinendra-kalyāṇābhīrudaya* of Ayyapārya refers to the fact that our author got the name Hastimalla after he controlled the mad elephant let loose on him by the Pāndya king at Saranyāpura, and to a certain extent this is confirmed by verse No. 40, Act I, of *Vikrānta-kaurava*. Ayyapārya wrote his work in Vikrama Samvat 1376 (=57=1319). So Hastimalla flourished between A.D. 897 and 1319. This is still a wide range indeed. PATHAK and NARASIMHACHARYA have assigned A.D. 1290 to Hastimalla, but their conclusion is not accompanied by the necessary evidence. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR opines that Hastimalla probably lived in the 9th century A.D., but he too has not given any evidence. The identification of Dvīpamgudi, Saranyāpura and the Pāndya king is an urgent desideratum, and I draw the attention of South Indian scholars to these points which, when cleared, will help us to settle the date of Hastimalla definitely.

R. NARASIMHACHARYA has noted that the Ms. of *Ādipurāṇa* did not reach his hands. Lately I have come across a paper Ms. of it from which I would give some details about it here. It is a bulky volume of country paper stitched at the left end and measures about 9.5 by 8 inches. The first 41 leaves are devoted to *Ādipurāṇa*, and the remaining portion covers some cantos of *Bharateśvabhaṇa* (Kannada) written in disorder, *Daśalakṣanapūjā* (Sanskrit), *Mānikasvāmuṇḍante* (Kannada) and some ritualistic treatises.

The first leaf is torn, so we cannot know how the text began. *Ādipurāṇa* is divided into ten Parvans and written throughout in Kannada prose. Beginning with the divisions

⁶ See the *Prastāvanā* of *Maṭhulī-kalyāṇam*.

⁷ *Jainu Siddhānta Bhāṣkaru*, VII, 1, *Prasasti*, Samgraha, p. 161.

of time, with Kalpavṛkṣas and Manus etc., and passing through the previous births of the first Tirthaṅkara, the details of the life of Vrsabha are given in a traditional manner up to his liberation.

In the various colophons the name of the work is mentioned as *Pūrva-purāṇa-kathā*, but at the end it is called *Ādipurāṇa* Kannada Grantha. The Kannada verse at the beginning of the second Parvan suggests that *Purudevacarita* also might have been its name. So we may take that Nos. 6 and 7 stand for one and the same work. The name of the author is mentioned as Hastimallisenācārya in two colophons and as Hastimalli-sūri⁹ in eight colophons, and there can be no doubt that both the forms of the name refer to the same individual. No date of the author is given in this Ms. The title of the author *ubhaya-bhāṣa-cakravartī* is present in every colophon. The colophon at the end of the tenth Parvan runs thus

वित्युभयभाषाचक्रवर्तिहस्तिमल्लिसूरिविरचितपूर्वपुराणमहाकथायां दशमपर्व ॥

Every Parvan begins with a Sanskrit verse which is the same as the opening Maṅgala of the *Ādipurāṇa* (Sanskrit) of Jinasena. There is an additional Kannada verse at the beginning of the Canto Two

श्रीपुरुदेवन कथेयं
पापहरमनखिलजीवतति तिष्ठियल्ल सं-
क्षेपदोळतिमृदुवाक्यद-
रूपदि वरेदं सुमुक्तिभरदि गुरुवं ॥

The work closes with the following verse

श्रीमच्चमारसिंहविष्टरवरच्छत्रयाशोकवि-
द्यामेयश्चनिपुष्पवृष्टिसुरभेरीभूरिभामंडल-
स्तोमं भास्वदनन्तबोधनिष्ठं हस्तौखलक्ष्मीसमु-
दासं माळकैमगळकरिंदे शुभमंनोवर्धमानं जिनं ॥⁹

This Ms. is written at Ainapur (in the Belgaum Dt.) by Padmanna Upādhyāya in Śaka 1625 (+78=1703 A.D.), Svabhānu Samvatsara, Mārgaśīrsa Śuklapakṣa, Daśamī, Somavāra etc. It has not been well-preserved. At present it is in the possession of MR. GUNDAPPA TAVANAPPA ARAVADE, Sangli, who kindly allowed me to make use of it for this paper.

In view of the facts that *Ādipurāṇa* qualifies its author with the title *ubhaya-bhāṣa-cakravartī* which possibly refers to his proficiency in Sanskrit and Kannada, that one verse from *Añjanā-pavanāñjaya* associates him with Kaināṭaka, and that Devacandra took both

⁸ Malli for Malla might have been a scribal error.

⁹ I have made one or two minor corrections in these verses.

of them to be identical, I am inclined to believe that the author of Kannada *Āḍipurāṇa* and author of the four Sanskrit plays are identical.

In conclusion, I wish that some Kannada scholar would edit this *Āḍipurāṇa*, and it is likely to prove a valuable addition to the early Kannada prose literature. It is equally necessary that other works of Hastimalla should be brought to light so that his date and other details might be finally settled.

KAVI PARAMEŚVARA OR PARAMEŚTHI*

In the history of Indian literature, there are many celebrated authors who are repeatedly remembered in subsequent works, but neither their works are available to-day, nor do we know any biographical details about them. Kavi Parameśvara or Parameśthi is one of them. In this paper I propose to put together whatever bits of information have been available to me, especially from Kannada and Sanskrit literature.

Eminent Kannada poets like Ādi Pampa (c. 941 A.D.), Abhinava Pampa (c. 1100 A.D.), Nayasena (c. 1112 A.D.), Aggaḷa (c. 1189 A.D.) and Kamalabhava (c. 1235 A.D.) respectfully refer to Kavi Parameśthi along with Samantabhadra, the logician poet and Pūjyapāda, the grammarian.¹ Ādi Pampa, it may be noted, calls him *jagat-prasiddha*. Their verses are given below.

श्रीमत्समन्तभद्र-

स्वामिगळ जगत्प्रसिद्ध-कविपरमेष्ठि- ।

स्वामिगळ पूज्यपाद-

स्वामिगळ पदंगळीगे शाश्वतपदमे ॥

—Ādipurāṇa (Mysore 1900) I. 15

कविपरमेष्ठिगळ गुण

स्तवनंगळ पूज्यपादयतिगुण- ।

स्तवनंगळ्वेमें नालगे-

गे बंद मानवन वाङ्मलं निदपुदे ॥

—Rāmāyana I. 11

श्रीमत्समन्तभद्र-

स्वामिगळ नेगळ्तेवेत्त-कविपरमेष्ठि- ।

स्वामिगळ पूज्यपाद-

स्वामिगळ पदंगळीगे बोधोदयमे ॥

—Dharmāmṛta (Mysore 1924) I. 14

समनिके सम्मानसदोळ

समन्तभद्राघ्नित्तरकांतिजलं म- ।

तमल्लिन कविपरमेष्ठि-

क्रमकमलं पूज्यपादपदनखकुमुदं ॥

—Candraprabha-purāṇam (Mysore 1901) I. 20

* Published in the Proc. and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, 13th Session, pp. 375-90, Nagpur 1946.

¹ R. Narasimhacharya, *Karnāṭaka-kavīcarita*, Vol. I, (Bangalore 1924), pp. 2, 4-5.

भवहरसमेतभद्र
 कविपरमेष्ठिगळ पूज्यपादर कारु- ।
 ण्यवरेण्य दुग्धवार्धियो-
 लविरतमिर्कम्म चित्तमत्तमराळ ॥

—Śāntiśvara-purānam (Mysore 1912) I 20

Then turning to individual references, Gunavarma II (c 1235 A.D.) tells us in his Puspadanta-purāna, I 26 (Madras 1933) that Kavi Paramēsthī's mouth was beautiful with unparalleled speech, that he was praised by the learned, that he was almost the Parābrahman, and that he was no doubt a *purāna-purusa*

निरुपमसरस्वतीसुं-
 दरचतुरानननशेषविबुधस्तुत्यं- ।
 परमब्रह्मनेनल् कवि-
 परमेष्ठि पुराणपुरुषनेबुदु पुसिये ॥

Pārśvapandita (1205 A.D.) qualifies him as '*guna-jyestha*' i.e. 'pre-eminent in virtues' in his Pārśvapurāna

निष्ठापरत्वदि पर-
 मेष्ठिस्तवनमननूनमं माहि गुण- ।
 ज्येष्ठनेनिसिप कविपर-
 मेष्ठिगुणस्तवनमेमगे-दल करणीय ॥

Nemicandra (c 1170) tells us in his Nemināthapurāna (I 15-16, Mysore, 1914) that Kavi Paramēśvara wrote a *purāna* glorifying 24 Tirthankaras and that Brahman and Sarasvatī were waiting on his glory

जिनर पुराणगळोळें-
 दने बरेदोडे बरेदेवेंवरीभुवनं जी-
 यने वरेदिरिसिदरिपे-
 तुनात्कमं योगळ सुकविपरमेश्वररं ॥
 सुकविपरमेष्ठिगळ ना-
 टकवेनिसिद भुवनवंशवरविद्याती-
 र्थकरत्वपुण्यलक्ष्मिगे
 सकळभवदेवि यक्षि यक्ष बोम्मं ॥

Then, still earlier, Cāvundarāya (978 A D) in his Ādipurāṇa (Bangalore 1928) clearly tells us that Kavi Parameśvara wrote a Triṣastī-śalākā-purāṇa:

चरितपुराणदोळेंदने
बरेवर् बरेविकिकदर् त्रिषष्टिशलाका- ।
पुरुषपुराणमं कवि-
परमेश्वररंतु जसके नोंतकमोळरे ॥

And in another context (p 6) he declares that the *mahā-purāṇa* was composed formerly by Kūci Bhaṭṭāraka and Śrinandi Muni, and that his work, namely, the Kannada Cāvundarāya Purāṇa only follows the compositions of Kavi Parameśvara, who is called *jīnāgama-tīlaka*, Jinasena and Gunabhadra

विरचिसिद्ध मुझे महा-
पुराणमं नेगळ्द कूचिभट्टारकर ।
परम श्रीनंदिसुनी-
श्वरं तदनतरं जिनागमतिलकर ।
कविपरमेश्वरर् बरेदुदं जिनसेनमहामुनीशरी-
यवनिगे पेळ्दु माणे गुणभद्रमुनीश्वररेय्दे पेळ्दु प-
ल्लविसिद्धुदं त्रिषष्टिपुरुषप्रतिबद्धपुराणमं महो-
त्सवदोळे भव्यकोटिगरियल् बरेदं गुणरत्नभूषणं ॥

Gunabhadra,² at the end of his Uttarapurāṇa (middle of the 9th century A D) informs us that the Ādipurāṇa composed by his teacher Jinasena was based on the *gadya-kathā* of Kavi Parameśvara

कविपरमेश्वर-निगदितगद्यकथामातृकं पुरोश्चरितम् ।

Jinasena (c 837 A D) also respectfully mentions him as the compiler of the entire *purāṇa*, possibly under the title Vāgarthasamgraha

स पूज्य. कविभिर्लोकै कवीना परमेश्वर ।
वागर्थसमग्रं कृत्स्नं पुराणं य समग्रहीत् ॥

Adipurana I, 60

Besides these literary references, the Hunch inscription of 1077 A D mentions Kavi Parameṣṭhi along with a host of Jaina teachers and authors³

Thus we see that Kavi Parameśvara is being respectfully mentioned by various authors from the beginning of the 9th century almost upto the middle of the 13th century A D His personality stands before us as that of a famous, worthy authoritative poet with

² About Jinasena, Gunabhadra etc, see, I rem: Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, pp 282, 497 ff, also Hiralal Dhavalā, Intro Amraoti 1939

³ Epigraphia Carnatica VIII, Nagar No 35

remarkable mastery over expression. He composed a *purāṇa* glorifying 63 Śalākā-puruṣas or celebrities of the Jaina church. Gunabhadra says that it was a *gadya-kathā* and that it was used by Jināsena for his Ādipurāṇa. Jināsena calls it Vāgartha-samgraha, and Cāmunda-rāya used it for his Kannada work. It is a high compliment to the scholastic greatness of Kavi Parameśthi that he is ranked with Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda whose works have come down to us.

This is all that we glean about Kavi Parameśvara's personality from the casual references of subsequent authors, some of whom had actually used his work. His date is uncertain.⁴ But he definitely flourished earlier than Jināsena who finished his *Jaya-dhavalā* in 837 A.D.

As yet we have not been able to trace the work of Kavi Parameśvara in any Ms. library, but the chances of tracing it are not remote, because many collections in the South are not fully explored.

Lately, the section of Śāntipurāṇa from the Cāmunda-rāyapurāṇa has been published,⁵ and we are lucky to find there that Cāmunda-rāya has given some quotations attributed to Kavi Parameśvara. I reproduce below the extracts almost as they are.

कविपरमेश्वरर वृत्त ।

रामत्वं गणधृत्वमप्यमिमत्तं लोकान्तिकत्वं तथा
षट्खण्डप्रभुता सुखानुभवेन सर्वार्थसिद्ध्यादिषु ।
इद्वत्त्वं महिमाविभिश्च सहितं न प्राप्तं ससारिभिः
तत्प्राप्तो भवहेतुसंसृत्तिलताच्छेदे कुतः संयमः ॥

कविपरमेश्वरर श्लोक ।

कषायोद्रेककालुष्यं व्रतदर्शनसत्तपः ।
दूषयत्यचिराद्वाजन ततः क्रोधादि वर्जयेत् ॥

त्यागेन लोभं क्षमया प्रकोपं

मानं मृदुत्वेन मनोहरेण ।

वृत्तेन मायासृजुनाभिवृद्धिं

नरेन्द्र हन्यात्परलोककांक्षी ।

स्थूलेषु दयां प्राणिषु करोति सूक्ष्मेषु बिलसदनुकम्पाम् ।

आरम्भाद्गतकर्मसु गृहाश्रमो निष्प्रतिज्ञानः ॥

चरणादवनाब्जमया विषया नानादपि प्रजासुखदा ।

तदवनये वर्षितां न चिरं ससारभाक् नृपती ॥ [?]⁶

⁴ R. Narasimhacharya would like to put Kavi Parameśvara between Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda, and he gives to him a tentative date, viz., 550 A.D. This is just a conjecture, and the earlier limit of his date is not at all fixed. We want more evidence.

⁵ Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Vol. 29, March-June 1944, pp. 53, 58.

⁶ This verse is apparently corrupt and obscure.

हिंसातः प्राणिनोऽन्यायाद्वाज्जण्डेन वारयन् ।
 संचिनोति व्रती पुण्यमहिंसाया समार्जितम् ॥
 अल्पानल्पापराधेषु तद्योग्यानपि दण्डयन् ।
 स्वचरेन्द्रमहापुण्य समाधत्ते नृप कृती ॥

गुंद्हिंसाव्रतमनरिपि

तत्सुसाधुवच सत्यं प्राणिपीडापराङ्मुखम् ।
 येन सावद्यकर्माणि न स्पृशन्ति भयादिव ॥
 नाग्निर्दहत्युच्चशिखाकलापस्तीव्रं विषं निर्विषतामुपैति ।
 शस्त्रं शतशोतविभूषणत्वं सत्येन किं ते न भवेदभीष्टम् ॥

गुंद् सत्यव्रतमनरिपि

परस्वार्जनमन्यायं प्रकाशस्तेनमुच्यते ।
 नृपते चोरयंल्लोके वञ्चकस्तेन समृतः ॥
 इह जन्मनि तद्वाजन् व्यक्तमख्यातिवर्धनम् ।
 विचित्रदुःखसंपादि परत्र च विशेषतः ॥
 अधर्मसंग्रहोऽन्यायान् नृपस्यान्यस्वसंग्रह
 प्रजाविद्वेषणीयश्च जायते येन कर्मणा ॥

गुंद्स्तेयव्रतमनरिपि

परदारपरावृत्तो वर्तते यः क्षितीश्वरः ।
 समन्विहितकरकमलमुकुलैर्वैरपि स प्रणमनीयः ॥ [?]⁷
 स्वदारगतभ्येत्य मात्नयानुभवन्तृपः ।
 भवेद् स्वार्थपरः कामं जनानां आपदेशकः ॥

We are not in a position to state whether only the opening verse of the larger extract belongs to Kavi Parames̥thi or all the verses are to be attributed to him. All the quotations are in Sanskrit and in a metrical form. One verse is very obscure and one line metrically defective. Cāmundarāya says that he has used Kavi Parames̥vara's work, it is very good of him that he quotes by mentioning the author's name.

Kavi Parames̥vara's work, as the quotations indicate, was in Sanskrit and in verses. There is one difficulty in accepting this that Gunabhadra has described Kavi Parames̥vara's work as *gadya-kathā*. Possibly it was in prose with some verses here and there, and for convenience Cāmundarāya might have quoted only the verses.

If not the whole work of Kavi Parames̥vara, at least a couple of quotations are available to us. And I do hope, some day, like the Varāṅgacarita of Jātīla, Kavi Parames̥vara's *purāṇa* would be discovered.

⁷ Metrically defective

CĀMUNDARĀYA AND HIS LITERARY PREDECESSORS*

Cāmundarāya is one of those celebrated personalities of medieval India who have enriched the cultural heritage of India. He was a great warrior, an eminent author and an ardent religious devotee, but what has made his name memorable in the annals of our land is his construction of the colossus of Bāhubali on the hillock at Śravana Belgola. The image is 57 feet in height, daring in conception, gigantic in dimensions and exquisite in workmanship. The expression is symbolic of religious detachment and poise, and the serene face of the statue facing north breathes a message of peace.¹

Cāmundarāya gives some meagre information about himself in his *Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣana-mahāpurāṇa* (TLM), popularly known as *Cāmundarāya-Purāṇam* (CP).² He was born in a Brahmaksatriya family, his master (i.e., the king under whom he served as minister-general) was Nonanba-kulāntakadeva (i.e., Mārisimha, A.D. 964-974) of the Ganga dynasty, so also his successor Rācamalla (IV), and his preceptor was Ajitasena Bhattāraka. He earned renown for his valour, causing wonder to many by exhibiting the might of his arms in piercing Rājāyī (i.e., Rājāditya) at close quarters, for bravery in smashing Rāca, dexterity in giving hot chase to Govindaras, and heroism in slaying in battle the feudatory chief Rācaya of superior strength. Like terrified rabbits seeking shelter, his enemies entertain perpetual fear whenever he, Anna, makes a move, marches out or launches an attack. Like the sound of the Dipāvali drum, the hostile potentates rush into every household in fright, entreating: 'The unsurpassed warrior is in a rage, give us shelter, protect us'.³

Cāmundarāya possessed a number of titles the origin of which is thus related: 'From his defeat of Viṃśaladeva in the Khedagaṭṭ war he obtained the title Samara-dhurandhara, from the valour he displayed in the plun of Gonūru in the Nolamba war (against Jagadeka-vīra?), the title Vira-mārtāṇḍī, from his brave fight against Rājāditya in the fort of Uccangī, the title Ranarangi-singa, from his killing Tribhuvanavīra in the fort of Bāgeyūra (or Bāyilūra) and enabling Govindara to enter it, the title Vairikula-kāladanda, from his defeat of Rāja, Bāsa, Sivara, Kūnāmka and other warriors in the fort of king Kāma the title Bhujī-Vikrama, from his slaying Mudurīcayī known as Caladanka-Ganga and Ganga-rabhata who killed his younger brother Nāgivarma, the title Samara-Paraśurāma, from his subjugation of the tribal chief, the title Pratipaksi-Rīksasa, from his killing many warriors, the title Bhata-māri and in view of his religious and moral virtues, the titles

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¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica* (E.C.), II, Bangalore, 1923, Intro., pp. 10 ff.

² *Aḥpurāṇam*, Bangalore, 1928, Intro. and introductory verses, also E.C., II, Intro., pp. 45 f. and Inscription No. 281. A complete edition of this work is in press to be published by the Jaina-Sāhitya-pracārasaṃgha, Mysore.

³ C.P., Intro. verses 21-23 with the preceding prose. Thanks to Shri P.B. Desai and Shri B.S. Kulkarni, Dharwar, for their suggestions on these verses.

† Maṇṇe khedaga (= Māṇyakhēta) MCP's—Ed.

Guṇa-kāva, Samyaktva-ratnākara, Śaucābharana, Satya-Yudhisthira, and Subhaṭa-cūdāmani.⁴

Cāmundarāya was known also by the names Gōmmata (perhaps of domestic use), Gōmmata-Rāya, Rāya or Anna.⁵ It is after him that Bāhubali's colossus came to be called Gōmmaṭeśvara. Besides this statue on the Vindhya giri, he also erected there a pillar, the Tyāgada Brahmadeva Pillar, on which we have a partly effaced Prāśasti of Cāmundarāya, and a temple, called Cāmundarāya-basadi, on the Candrigiri. It appears that he had a son, Jinadevana, who erected a temple of Jina at Belgola.⁶

Cāmundarāya refers to some eminent saints and authors and also quotes some Prākṛit and Sanskrit verses in his TLM. Completed in Śaka 900, i.e., A.D. 978. The object of this paper is to shed some light on his literary predecessors.⁷

1 Grdhrapīṇhācārya (G) He wrote the *Tattvarthasūtra* which became famous everywhere, achieved all-round renown and spread or established the greatness of the doctrine of Jina (verse 3)

Notes G was another name of Umāsvāti⁸, possibly from his keeping a bunch of vulture-feathers as distinguished from other monks who used bunches of peacock feathers, etc.⁹ A good deal has been written on him and his works

2 Siddhasenācārya (S) He rose to eminence by his poetic skill in the congregation of great poets (and) after composing the hymns (or the Sammatī) with his special genius, and thus won the praise of all (verse 4)

Notes S is known as a great logician and a gifted poet. There were many authors of this name, and hence the authorship of some works has been a point of dispute. There is not much doubt that Cāmundarāya is referring to the poet S, the author of different *Stutis*. The reading *sannutīyam* is not satisfactory perhaps it is *sammūtīyam* referring to

⁴ Abhayacandra in his Sanskrit commentary on the *Gommaṭasāra* mentions him as the Mahāmātya or Rācamallī of the Ganga dynasty and gives his titles Rānarāgamalla, Asahāya-parākrama, Gunaratna-bhūṣaṇa, Samyaktvaratna-nīlaya, etc. Some of these are used as adjectives of Mahāvira, by sleṣa, in the *Gommaṭasāra*.

⁵ R. Narasimhacharya *Karnāṭaka Kavacarita I*, Bangalore 1924. A. N. Upadhye *Gommaṭa, Bhāratiya Vidyā II*, 1 pp. 48-58, Materials for the interpretation of the term Gommaṭa. *Indian Historical Quarterly XVI* pp. 819-826. Nathurāma Premi *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa* (Bombay 1956) pp. 266 f.

⁶ *EC*, II, No. 121 (R. N. Ed.)

⁷ A Sanskrit work *Cāntrasāra* (Mānikacanda D. J. Granthamālā, No. 9, Bombay 1917), is attributed to Cāmundarāya. The colophon mentions Cāmundarāya, the favourite of Ajitāsena, as the author, and the concluding verse specifies his title Rānarāga-simha. Shri V. B. Lokapuri has raised a question (Prabuddha-Karnāṭaka 1953) whether Ranna might have composed the CP and attributed it to his patron, because there are common or nearly common passages in the CP (A.D. 978) and Ajitapurāṇa (A.D. 993). The positive documentary evidence stands without any doubt, and that Ranna Nāgavarma and Brahmasīva do not refer to Cāmundarāya as a poet proves nothing. The available evidence, therefore, only admits B. M. Shrikantayya's suggestion that Ranna's revisionist's hand might be suspected in the CP.

⁸ *EC*, II, No. 254, see also Nos. 64, 66, 117 (R. N. Ed.)

⁹ For details about him the following important sources may be consulted. J. Mukthar *Svāmī Samantabhadra* (Bombay 1925), pp. 144 f., Sukhalal Sanghavi *Tattvartha-sūtra* with Vivecana in Hindi (Banaras 1939), N. Premi *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa* (Bombay 1956), pp. 521 ff.

his composition of *Stutis*. If the reading was *Sannatiyaṃ*, which, in my opinion, is more probable and gives a better sense to the verse, it is obviously a reference to the great logical treatise, *Sanmatitarka*. In that case, according to Cāmundarāya, S was the author of the *Sanmatī* as well as a gifted poet who is assigned to the 5th century A.D.¹⁰

3 Samantabhadra-deva None can equal S-deva who attained all-round fame by the glory of exposition, after composing the famous Tattvārtha-bhāṣya (and) a treatise on logic (Tarka-śāstra). Poets held in high estimation these three, G, S, and S-deva, as three jewels (*ratnatraya*—verses 5-6)

Notes Cāmundarāya clearly attributes a *bhāṣya* on the Tattvārtha to S-Deva, so also a treatise on logic. There are some other authors who also attribute a *bhāṣya* to him like this, and in some places it is called Gandhahastī and its extent is given as 96 thousand verses. Gunavarma (c. 1230 A.D.) in his Kannaḍa Puspadantapurāṇa (I 22), Hastimalla (c. A.D. 9th to 13th century) in his Vikrāntakaurava, Dharmabhusana in his Nyāyadīpikā (1385 A.D.), and Laghu Samantabhadra in his Ṭippanī on the Astasahasī. But this work has not come to light as yet. A good deal of information about S-Deva has been made available by researches during the last few years.¹¹

4. Pūjyapāda-Bhaṭṭāraka He is praised by all as a worthy poet, an author of a grammar, one capable of moving in the sky and an eminent logician (verse 7, not found in all the MSS.)¹²

5 Kavi-Parameśvara He attained unequalled fame by composing the unique Trisastī-śālākā-purusa-purāṇa (verses 8—not found in all the MSS., also 25)

Notes Though his work has not come down to us, he is one of the earliest authors who wrote the biography of Śālākāpurusa. Many Sanskrit and Kannada authors, as I have shown elsewhere,¹³ have referred to him in complimentary terms from the 9th century almost up to the middle of the 13th century A.D. He is also mentioned as Kavi Parameṣṭhi. 'His personality stands before us as that of a famous, worthy, authoritative poet with remarkable mastery over expression. He composed a Purāṇa glorifying 63 Śālākā-purusas or celebrities of the Jaina Church. Gunabhadra says that it was a *gadya-kathā* and it was used by Jinaseṇa for his Ādipurāṇa. Jinaseṇa calls it Vāgartha-saṃgraha, and Cāmundarāya used it for his Kannada work. It is a high compliment to the scholastic greatness of Kavi Parameṣṭhi that he is ranked with Samantabhadra and Pūjyapada whose works have come down to us. In the section of the Śāntipurāṇa¹⁴, Cāmundarāya quotes a few verses of Kavi Parameśvara. The work was in Sanskrit, and perhaps a Campū in form.

¹⁰ Sukhalal Sanghavi and B. Doshi. *Sanmatī Prakaraṇa* (in Guṇarāṭī), Pūjyābhāi-Jaina-Granthamālā-5, Ahmedabad 1932, an English version of this has also appeared, *Sanmatī Tarka*, Bombay 1939, J. Mukthar Purātana-Jainavākya-sūci, Virasevāmandira-Granthamālā-5, Saraseva 1950, pp. 119-168.

¹¹ J. Mukthar. *Śvāmī Samantabhadra*, Bombay 1925, *Samicina-dharmaśāstra*, Intro, Delhi 1955.

¹² Nathuram Premi. *Jaina Sūtrīya aur Itihāsa* (Bombay 1956) pp. 22 f. Phoolachandra Shastri. *Sarvārthasiddhi* (Banars 1955) pp. 84 ff. of the Intro.

¹³ Vide my paper 'Kavi Parameśvara or Parameṣṭhi', *Proceedings etc., All-India Oriental Conference*, Nagpur 1946, pp. 375 ff., cf. previous article.

¹⁴ *Kannaḍa Sūtrīya Pariṣat Patrike*, Bangalore, 29, March-June 1944, pp. 53, 58.

6-7. Virasena-Bhaṭṭāraka and Jinasena-Ācārya. Both of these, on account of their prominence in Jainism and self-control, were great saints, veritable Jinās among other monks. Their fame was established all round on account of their works dealing with Siddhānta, Mahāpurāṇa, Naya-śāstra, poetry and drama (verses-9, 10, not found in all the MSS., also 25)

Notes Researches during the last thirty years have brought many facts about these authors to light. These two, along with Gunabhadra, formed a composite literary personality, as it were. Virasena was a pupil of Āryanandi and a grand-pupil of Candrasena and belonged to Pañcastūpānvaya,¹⁶ which later on was superseded by Senānvaya. He inherited the knowledge of the Siddhānta from Elācārya. His available works are Dhavalā Ṭikā (on the major parts of the Saṅkhandāgama)¹⁶ in 72 thousand verses (completed in A D 816) and Jayadhavalā-ṭikā (on the Kaśāyaprabhṛta) left incomplete after writing 20 thousand verses and then completed by Jinasena by adding 40 thousand verses, in A D. 837. These works are known by the name Siddhānta. Jinasena had a great disciple in the Rāstrakūṭa king, Amoghavarṣa. He has to his credit two other works, the Pārsvābhyudaya, a Samasyāpurāṇa of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, and the Mahāpurāṇa, left incomplete by him but later completed by Gunabhadra, some time before A D 898.¹⁷

8 Gunabhadra-deva. He was a Traividyā, and (almost) a Ganadhara. His precepts and practice were mutually consistent. He was brought up and trained along with Sarasvatī and Brahman. On account of his great learning, he was considered as a veritable Divine by common people. He was held in great respect and reverence by all the monks (verses 11-13, also 25)

Notes Besides completing the Mahāpurāṇa of his teacher Jinasena, Gunabhadra has composed the Ātmānuśāsana, a didactic anthology in Sanskrit.¹⁸

9 Dharmasenācārya. He belonged to Candrikāvāta-vamśa, and he was learned and of spotless fame and character (verse 14)

Notes A MS of CP in my possession also reads *vamśa* (for *vāsa*) which is a synonym for *anvaya*. In one of the Paṭṭāvalis¹⁹, brought to light by A F.R. Hoernle, there is a reference to Candrakapāṭa-gaccha associated with Kānūra-gana and Simha-saṃgha. Like Hanasoge-anvaya, deriving its name from a place Hanasoge, it is quite possible that Candrikāvāta (with some variation in spelling) is the name of a place. Shri Desai has suggested that it may be identical with the present-day village Chāndakavāṭe in the Sindgi Taluk of the Bijapur Dt. In an inscription from Muḷgunda, it is noticed that, a gift was entrusted into the hands of a preceptor Kanakasena-sūri, disciple of Virasena, who in turn

¹⁶ A N Upadhye 'Pañcastūpānvaya' Karmāṭaka Historical Review, VII, 1-2

¹⁶ The edition of Dhavalā is published in 16 volumes by the Śrīmanṭa Setha Laksmichandra Sitābārāya Jaina-Sāhityadhāraka-Fund, Amroṭī-Vidisha, 1939-58, and so far 7 vols of Jaya-dhavalā are out from Mathura

¹⁷ On these two authors see H L Jain *Saṅkhandāgama*, Vol 1 (Amroṭī 1939), Intro., and Nathuram Premi *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa* (Bombay 1956), pp 127 ff

¹⁸ On Gunabhadra see N Premi *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, pp 138 ff and also the Intro to Mahāpurāṇa Vols 1-2, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Banaras 1951-54

¹⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, XXI, March 1892, pp 57 f, pp especially, 69 and 73

was the senior pupil (*maukha*) of Kumārasena belonging to the Sena-anvaya of Candrikāvāṭa'. It is highly probable that Kumārasena mentioned in the next verse is the same as the one mentioned in the Mulgunda record, and he too belonged to Candrikāvātavamśa to which Dharmasena belonged. Shri Desai has tried to work out a continuous genealogy from Dharmasena to (Nayasena II, through) Ajitasena, referred to in our verses Nos. 14-18²⁰

10. Kumārasena He practised severe vows and, after accepting renunciation at Mulgunda (Dt Dharwar), retired to Kopanādrī (mod Kopbal, S.Rly) where he breathed his last according to scriptural prescriptions (of the Samādhi-marana) and attained liberation, it was all unique on his part (verse 15)

11-13 Nāgasena, Virasena and Candrasena²¹ They practised severe penance and enhanced the glory of the Jaina doctrine (verse 16)

Notes This Virasena, the pupil of Kumārasena, of the Candrikāvāṭa-senānvaya, is mentioned in the Mulgunda inscription²². One Candrasena is mentioned in one of the inscriptions at Kopbal,²³ but there is no evidence, besides similarity of name, to say that he was identical with the Candrasena mentioned here

14 Āryanandī or Āryasena He was a great monk, quiet, pure, learned, austere and of exemplary conduct, and did good to his pupils he was a moving embodiment of holiness (verse 17)

Notes A MS of CP in my possession reads Āryasena for Āryanandī

15 Ajitasenācārya He was respected by kings and was a pupil of Āryasena In matters of religious enlightenment and guidance, he deserves to be respected Anna or Cāmundarāya (who was *priya-darśana*, which reminds one of Asoka's title, and *dharma-priya*) was his disciple (verses 19-20)

Notes Elsewhere Āryasena is mentioned as the *guru* of Ajitasena who, in turn a World-Teacher (*bhuvana-guru*), is the guru of Gōmmata or Cāmundarāya²⁴ So, in this verse, the reading of Kha should be accepted So both the name Āryanandī and Āryasena refer to one and the same Ācārya, the guru of Ajitasena Ajitasena was a renowned teacher of his age He was the preceptor of the Ganga rulers Mārasimha and Rācamalla and of the minister-general Cāmundarāya According to a Śravana Belgola inscription²⁵, Mārasimha

²⁰ P B Desai *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs* (Sholapur, 1957), pp 134-139 also his paper in Kannada 'Candrikāvātada Yatigaḷu' in the *Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣat-patrike* for 1951, pp 41-60

²¹ It is interesting to note that Virasena (noted in verses 6-7) calls himself the grand-pupil of Candrasena and the pupil of Āryanandī, possibly they may be different authors

²² J F Fleet *Journal of B B R A S X*, 167-69, *Epigraphia India*, XIII, 190 f also Shri Desai's paper noted above

²³ The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopbāl, Hyderabad 1935

²⁴ See Gommatasāra, Jivakāṇḍa, gāthā 733, Bombay 1916 also my paper 'Materials for the Interpretation of the term Gommatā' *IHQ* Vol xVI, No 2, 1940, pp 819 f cf previous article

²⁵ E.C II, (R N Ed) No 59 (39)

relinquished the sovereignty, and keeping the vow of *sallekhanā* for three days in the presence of Ajitasena-bhattāraka, died at Bankāpura (Dt Dharwar) in A D 974 Jina-devana, son of Cāmundarāya, was also a lay disciple of Ajitasena, he erected a Jina temple at Belgoḷa in 995 A D ²⁶ In an inscription of A D 1053 at Mulgunda, Ajitasena-bhattāraka is called Candrakavātānvya-varisthar²⁷ and further associated with Senānvaya and Mulasanḡha, the Sanskrit verse mentioning these two items is identical with one (No 1) of the Praśasti verses of the Uttarapurāna completed by Gunabhadra, some time before A D 898 It is shown elsewhere that Senānvaya superseded Pañcastūpānvaya²⁸, and here is an indication that it is absorbing the Candrakavātānvaya too If this surmise is correct, the credit must go to two great teachers, Jinasena and Gunabhadra

16 Kūci-bhattāraka He was the author of a Mahāpurāna (verse 24)

17 Śrīnandī He was a great monk and perhaps wrote on the subject of the Mahāpurāna

Notes One feels like taking verses 24 and 25 together, in that case, *Jināgama-tīlaka* is an adjective of the Kavi-Paramśvara Kūci-bhattāraka is not known from any other source, and the name of an author it sounds a little obscure It may be that it stands as an adjective of Śrīnandī who, in that case, might have been a Bhattāraka, a renowned teacher of the Kūrcaka section, which is mentioned along with Nirgrantha and Yāpanīya in the Kadamba copper plates ²⁹

In the concluding portion of CP, while recounting the inheritance of scriptural knowledge from Mahāvīra onwards through Kevalins, etc., the following dignitaries with their works are mentioned, and they deserve to be noticed ³⁰

18-19 Bhūtabālī and Puspadanta They composed the Sūtras of Satkhanda

Notes "The teachings of Lord Mahāvīra were arranged into Twelve Angas by his pupil Indrabhūti Gautama, and they were handed down from preceptor to pupil by word of mouth till gradually they fell into oblivion Only fractions of them were known to Dharasena who practised penance in the Candra Guphā of Girinagara in the country of Saurāstra (Mod Kathiawar) He felt the necessity of preserving the knowledge and so he called two sages, who afterwards became famous as Puspadanta and Bhūtabālī, and taught to them portions of the fifth Anga, Viāḡhapannatti and of the twelfth Anga, Ditthivāda These were subsequently reduced to writing in Sūtra form by the two eminent pupils Puspadanta composed the first 177 Sūtras, which are all embodied in the present edition of Satprarūpanā, and his colleague Bhūtabālī wrote the rest, the total being 6000 Sūtras³¹

²⁶ E C II (R N Ed), No 121 (67)

²⁷ E I, XVI, pp 53 ff, and the Kannada paper of Shri Desai noted above

²⁸ See the remarks of Virasena above

²⁹ *Indian Antiquary* VI, pp 25-27, 30-31, Pt Premī suggests that Kūrcaka monks might be those who grew beard and mustache See *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa* (Bombay 1956), pp 559 f

³⁰ I am thankful to Shri M C Padmanābha Sharma, Mysore, who kindly sent to me some concluding portion of CP, duly copied from the Ms

³¹ *Ṣaṭkhandāgama* I, (Amraoti 1939), Intro p 1

They are to be assigned to the beginning of the Christian era. Dhavalā of Virasena is a commentary on these Sūtras

20. Gunadhara He is the author of the *Kasāyaprabhītasūtra* (KPS) and is called *Jina-mata-tīlaka*

Notes Gunadhara was more or less a contemporary of Dharasena, and his Sūtras are explained in the *Jayadhavalā* of Virasena-Jinasena, as noted above

21-23. Nāgahastī, Yati-Vṛṣabha and Uccāranācārya These were Kārana-purusas, i.e., outstanding personalities³²

Notes We know from other sources that Nāgahastī and Āryamankṣu (elsewhere Ayyamangu) were the first to receive from Gunadhara the explanation of the Sūtras of KPS. Yati-Vṛṣabha studied from them KPS and wrote the *Cūṛṇisūtra* on them, and on this Uccāranācārya wrote the *Uccārana-sūtra*. These are found incorporated in the *Jayadhavalā*³³. Yati-Vṛṣabha is also the author of *Tilyapannatti* which has lately been edited by me in collaboration with Dr H. L. Jain³⁴

After these the CP gives the succession list as follows

24. Māghanandī, possibly the same as one mentioned in the *Śrutāvatāra* 102

25. Śyāmakunda, who was an expert in many Āgamas

Notes According to the *Śrutāvatāra*, he studied both the Āgamas, Satkhanda and KP, and wrote a commentary called *Paddhati* in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Kannada on their major portion

26. Tembūlūrācārya Elsewhere, his name is spelt 'Tumbū'. The CP simply gives the names of these authors, but some details about them are found in the *Śrutāvatāra* and also scrutinised lately³⁵

Notes He wrote in Kannada a commentary *Cūḍāmanī* on the first five Khandas and a *Pañcīkā* on the Sixth Khanda, the total reaching some ninetyone thousand verses

27. Samantabhadra See No. 3 above. According to the *Śrutāvatāra*, he was a Tāṛkīkārka, and he too is said to have written a *Tīkā* on the Āgamas

28-30. Śubhanandī, Ravinandī and Bappadeva

Notes Bappadeva studied the Siddhānta from Śubhanandī and Ravinandī and wrote a commentary (on the five Khandas) *Vyākhyā-prajñapti* by name in Prākṛit. His place of activity, according to the *Śrutāvatāra*, lies in North Kārnāṭaka. His opinions are referred to in the *Jayadhavalā*

31. Elācārya CP merely mentions the name

³² On these various authors see *Śrutāvatāra* of Indianandī (Bombay 1918) verses 151 f

³³ *Kasāyapāhuḍa*, Vol. I, Intro, pp. 9 f. Mathura 1944

³⁴ *Vivarāja Ṭ Granthamālā*, Sholapur, Vol. I, 1947, Vol. II, 1951

³⁵ *Śatkhandaśāstra*, Intro pp. 48 ff

Notes · As noted above, Virasena, according to his own Praśasti, inherited Siddhānta from Elācārya, who, as stated in the Śrutāvatāra, was a resident of Citrakūṭa

32-33 Virasena and Jinasena See Nos 6-7 above

Notes Cāmundarāya paid his respects to them, at the beginning of his work, because they were great Ācāryas, and his own work was very much indebted to Jinasena's work. Here they are again mentioned because of the great part played by them in the continuation of Āgama study

34 Ajitasena See No 15 above He belonged to the Samtati of the teachers mentioned above, and Cāmundarāya was his pupil (*gudda*)

Below is given an alphabetical Index of the Prākṛit and Sanskrit verses found quoted in the published portion of CP, along with their sources noted by me wherever possible. The ordinary and starred numbers in the first column refer to the pages of the ed. of CP (2nd ed. Bangalore 1928) and of the Kannada SP Patrike vol 29, 1-2, in which Śāntipūrāṇa is printed) respectively. The sources noted by me are put in square brackets

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47	अवलम्बमानमणि	
45	अहमिन्द्रसौख्यमनुभूय	
*59	इह जन्मनि तद्राजन्	
47	कनकाद्रिनीलधन	
*58	कषायोद्रेककालुष्यं	कविपरमेश्वर
*59	कुर्वन्पूर्वोपवास	
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*59	चरणावचनादमया	
47	चलदुग्धमदालिषुत	
*59	तत्साधुवचः सत्यं	
47	तेनापि तटफलमनुत्तरम्	
58	त्यागेन लोभं क्षमया	
46	दलितान्बुजातमपनीत	
40	दसु हेट्टिमासु पुढविसु	
42	दंसणवदसामाइय	[कुन्दकुन्द—द्वादशानुप्रेक्षा ६९]
*46	दिविजेन्द्रचापकचि	
73	दिव्या पुरी रत्नमत्तो	
47	दृष्ट्वा जिनेन्द्रजननी	
99	धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाः	

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56	पङ्क्तिगहमुच्छट्टाणं	[वसुनन्दि—श्रावकाचार २२५]
*59	परदारपरावृत्तो	
*59	परस्वार्जनमन्याय	
47	पवनोच्चलद्विपुल	
68	प्रज्ञापारमित स	[भूपाल—जिनचतुर्विंशतिका ७]
48	मनोजमातङ्गमतङ्ग	
8	मृत्सारिणी महिष	[जटासिंहनन्दि—वराहचरित १-१५]
68	राडय शासनकारि	[भूपाल—जिनचतुर्विंशतिका ५]
*53	रामत्वं गणधृत्वमथ्यमि	कविपरमेश्वर
45	विगलत्कपोलमद	
*59	विश्व प्रार्थयते	पूर्वाचार्य
56	श्रद्धाशक्तिरलुब्धत्वं	
62	श्रेणीद्वयाधिपत्येन	[गुणभद्र—उत्तरपुराण पृ १६५]
*58	स्थूलेषु दया प्राणिषु	
*59	स्वदारगतमभ्येत्य	
67	स्वामिन्नय विनिर्गतोऽस्मि	[भूपाल—जिनचतुर्विंशतिका ३]
*58	हिसात प्राणिनो	

A study of the sources of the verses quoted by Cāmundarāya will be more significant when the entire text of CP is published and when all the quotations are traced to their sources. The study undertaken here is of limited value. Among the authors quoted, Kundakunda is a well-known figure in Jaina literary history, and some of his works have come down to us.³⁶ Some observations on Kavi-Paramesvara are already added under No. 5 above. Jatā-Simhanandi is an equally famous author, and his Varāṅgacarita has already seen the light of day.³⁷ It is this reference of Cāmundarāya that enabled the present writer to bring to light so many details about Simhanandi and to establish his identity with the author of an anonymous Varāṅgacarita. The so-called quotation from the Śrāvakācāra of Vasunandi is not fully identical in readings, and it may present some chronological difficulties. It is not unlikely that it is an older verse adapted by Vasunandi himself. This point should await further investigation. We know very little about Bhūpāla and his age.³⁸ All that we can now say is that he is earlier than Cāmundarāya. About Gunabhadra we have noted the necessary information under No. 8 above.

³⁶ Vide my Intro. to the ed. of *Pravacanasāra*, Bombay 1935.

³⁷ See my Intro. to the *Varāṅgacarita* of Jatā-Simhanandi, Bombay 1938. cf. article No. 3, in this Compendium.

³⁸ *Kaityamala* VII, N. S. Press, Bombay 1926.

A PATTĀVALI OF THE SENAGANA*

A copy of the Pattāvali, which is being published here, I got some seventeen years back from Pt Bahubali Sharma, Sangli, and all these years I tried to get another Ms of it with the help of which a more authentic text could be presented. In the meanwhile I gave extracts etc, from it to some scholars now and then. As yet I have not come across any other Ms, perhaps the publication of this tentative text itself may attract the attention of some scholars and some Mss may be brought to light by them. I have made here and there only minor corrections which do not affect the contents. The text is obscure in many places, and linguistic and metrical defects are quite obvious. A better text can be constituted only after some more Mss come to light. There are important traditions embedded in this Pattāvali which deserve our attention, and we must see whether any of these get confirmed by other independent sources. Thus in this paper, I am presenting not only the tentative text and Name Index but also a few observations on some important items of information mentioned in this Pattāvali.

The first nine verses give the account of Teachers beginning with Tīrthakaras and ending with Ācārāṅgadhārins. The tenth verse tells us that this is a Pattāvali of the Mūlasaṃgha, Sena-gaṇa, Puskara-gaccha. Jināsena, who is said to have succeeded Vṛddha Kumārasena, is credited with the compilation of three crores of texts, and he is called a Post-creator who expounded Dhavala, Mahādhavala, Jayadhavala and Vijayadhavala.¹ Dharasena and Virāsena came after him, they studied Siddhānta under Elācārya, Virāsena is associated with a place Vāṭa, and these two, with Jayasena (?), further elaborated Jayadhavala (12-15).

Siddhasena Divākara is said to have enlightened Vikramāditya at Ujjayani, perhaps by producing an image of Pārśva from a Linga which was broken (16). Samantabhadra succeeded Siddhasena, and produced an image of Candraprabha out of the Bhimalinga at Drāksābhīrāma in the Telugu country (17).

Virāsena propitiated the Siddhacakra in the Hemnāgumphā on the Raivata, and his successor Jināsena composed the Purāṇa (*vimala-pada-yutam*), he had a guru-bandhu n Dasaratha and his pupil was Gunabhadra (21-22).

Later another Virāsena is mentioned as the author of the Padmacaritra (26). Devāsena, the successor of Vimalāsena, composed five Sāras (27).² Mahāsena, the teacher of the King of Sindhu, composed the Pradyumnakāvya (29).³ One Brahmasena is associated with Ālanda (32). Millisena composed various Mantragranthas such as Padmāvatīkalpa etc (35). Kamalībhadrā prescribed Vows or Vratas to Āsādhara (38). Kumārasena (?).

* Published in the Jaina Antiquary, Vol XIII, No 11, Arrah 1948

¹ Compare this with what we definitely know from the Dhavalā etc, Intro. Saṅkhandīgama, pp 35f Amraoti 1939

² We know his Ārādhanaī sārā, Tattva-sārā and Darsana-sāra

³ Compare the colophon of the Pradyumnacarita

श्रीसिन्धुराजसत्कमहामहत्तम-श्रीपद्मटगुरो महासेनाचार्यकृते प्रद्युम्नचरिते etc, Bombay 1916,

pacified the pain of arrows of king Allādikhān, possibly he rescued some people from the jail and is associated with Allāvuddin (39) Śrīdhara held a dispute with Buddhists for months together at Śrikañci (40) It appears that Somasena held a dispute with Sivas-āmi of Stambha-tirtha, and Mahamūda Pātasāha was his pupil (41) Śrutavīra went from Aṅkuleśvara to Bhārvasya and got the Jajiyā tax removed The last monk of the line mentioned in this Pattāvali, is Lakshmisena

The text being corrupt, I cannot be sure of the meaning of some passages The Pattāvali, however, notes a few events from traditional memory, and they should be accepted as such and verified with the aid of other sources¹

[पट्टावलिः]

श्रीमन्मारजितो जयन्ति विभवस्तीर्थकरा स्वामिनो
श्रीरान्ता वृषभारिकाः परिलसत्प्राणिघृणातत्परा ।

येषां संस्मृणादिसेवनतया पापं विनाशं व्रजेत्
पुण्यचोल्लसतीह बन्धनशतान्मुक्तिं ध्रुवं जायते ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमन्तो विभवार्णवाः समभवन् शिष्या गणेशोक्तमा-
स्तेषां नेत्रशरोद्धीन्दुसुमितास्तेभ्योऽभवन् सत्तमाः ।
रम्याः केवलिनोऽथ गौतमविभु सम्यक्सुधर्मस्वरूपको
जन्मवृत्त्वान्यथ कर्मनिर्जरतया तेषां भव दूरग ॥ २ ॥

श्रतकेवलिन पञ्च श्रीविष्णुर्नन्दिमित्रकः ।
सङ्गोऽपराजितश्चेति धर्मी गोवर्धनो भवेत् ॥ ३ ॥

भद्रबाहुरिति ख्यातो व्रती तपसि सुस्थित
क्षमायां सुधिया रभपो महाव्रतपरायणः ॥ ४ ॥

विशाखप्रोष्ठिलौ प्रोक्तौ नक्षत्रजयसाह्वयः ।
नागसेनश्च सिद्धार्थो जयसेनसमाह्वयः ॥ ५ ॥

विजयो बुद्धिलो गङ्गस्तीव्रव्रतपरायणः ।
तपांसि द्वादश प्रज्ञो यश्चक्रे सत्यभावनः ॥ ६ ॥

श्रीगङ्गदेव खलु धर्मसेना एकादशे दशपूर्वधारी ।
नक्षत्रसङ्गो जयपालसङ्ग पाण्डु सुधर्मो धृतसेनकंसौ ॥ ७ ॥

एकादशगङ्गाश्रतधारिणोऽपी शान्त्यन्विता ज्ञानविशेषरम्याः
बभूवुराचारविशेषविज्ञा जीवादितत्वाथविनिश्चितार्था ॥ ८ ॥

¹ Last year I had submitted this paper to Shri Ātmārāma Commemoration Volume But the Press copy of the Volume, we learn with sorrow, was burnt along with the stocks of Motilal Banarsida Lahore, during the communal disturbances at Lahore soon after the 15th of August, 1947.

सुभद्रश्च यशोभद्रो यशोबाहुश्च लोहक ।

एते जयन्ति चत्वारो ह्याचारङ्गस्य धारिणः ॥ ९ ॥

तेषां वंशे मूलसंघे गणेऽस्मिन् सेने रम्ये पुष्कराख्ये च गच्छे ।

श्रीमन्तोऽमी संबभूवुर्द्विजेन्द्रा वक्ष्ये तेषामावलिं पट्टभाजाम् ॥ १० ॥

श्रीमन्तो वृषभादिसेनमुनिपा विज्ञानधूताघका

शान्ता दानविचक्षणा जिनमते राद्धान्तसंवेदिनः

आसंवेदनलालसामलमनो भाजन्नराणां सदा

पावित्र्यं कुरुते यदङ्घ्रिकमलं पुण्यं महान्तो बुधाः ॥ ११ ॥

तत्पट्टेऽभवदालसाम्बुजलसत्त्वान्त कृपाभाजनं

श्रीवृद्धादिकुमारसेनमुनिपोऽभूत्संविदा संयुतः ।

तत्पट्टे जिनसेनशुद्धमुनिपः सिद्धान्तगैः प्रादरात्

य कोटित्रयशास्त्रसंभयकरः सिद्धान्तरत्नाकरः ॥ १२ ॥

धवलो हि महाधवलो जयधवलो विजयधवलश्च ।

ग्रन्था श्रीमद्भिरमी प्रोक्ताः कविधातकस्तस्मात् ॥ १३ ॥

तत्पट्टे धरसेनकः समभवत्सिद्धान्तग संशुभ

तत्पट्टे खलु वीरसेनमुनिपो यैश्चित्रकूटे पुरे ।

एलाचार्यसमीपं द्रुततरं सिद्धान्तमभ्यस्य ये

वाटे चैत्यवरे द्विसप्ततितमं सिद्धाचलं चक्रिरे ॥ १४ ॥

विज्ञातिसहस्रसुमितं जयधवलं चक्रिरे येऽपि ।

तत्पट्टे चत्वारिंशत्सहस्रसंख्यं च जयसेनो ॥ १५ ॥

श्रीसिद्धसेनादिदिवाकराख्यास्तत्पट्टगा वुज्जयनी विबोध्य

श्रीविक्रमादित्यममुत्रलिङ्गं विकीर्य पाद्वर्षस्य विकासका ध्रुवम् ॥ १६ ॥

समन्तभद्रा खलु तत्र पट्टे स्थित स्त्रिलिङ्गे विषये सुतीर्थे ।

द्राक्षाभिरामे खलु भीमलिङ्गं विकीर्य चन्द्राभिविकासकारा ॥ १७ ॥

तत्पट्टे शिवकोटिक समभवत् श्रीगौरसेनस्तत्

श्रीसेनाथपदश्च लक्षणयुतश्चारित्रसेनस्तत् ।

श्रीभट्टारकपद्मसेनमुनिप श्रीनन्दिषेणस्तथा

सेनोद्दीपपदादिक खलु तत् श्रीधर्मसेनः क्रमात् ॥ १८ ॥

सिंहसेन ससिंहाख्योऽभयसेनश्च भीमक ।

शान्तिसेनोऽमित सेन कीर्तिसेनस्तत् क्रमात् ॥ १९ ॥

आचार्यवयं गांभीर्यस्यैर्यादिगुणसयुत ।

अनन्तवीर्यो भगवान् भव्यानां भवत्तारक ॥ २० ॥

तत्पट्टे वीरसेनो यमदमसहितो रैवतेपर्वते यो
 हेम्नागुफस्य मध्ये युतिमतिसहित सिद्धचक्रादियन्त्रम् ।
 आसीदुद्धारयुक्तं विमलपदयुतं चकिरे तत्र पट्टे
 श्रीमज्जैनदिसेनो विमलतरसह पौराणकं चक्रिवान् ॥ २१ ॥

श्रीमद्विजयसेनायाश्च तेषां वै गुरुबन्धव ।
 तच्छिष्या गुणभद्राख्यास्तत्पट्टे लोहसेनका ॥ २२ ॥

श्रीनेमिसेना खलु तत्र पट्टे श्रीरामसेना खलु तार्किकाद्याः ।
 श्रीवज्रसेनश्च वसन्तसेनो विनीतसेनो विनयेषु धीमान् ॥ २३ ॥

श्रीमन्नागरसेनस्तु विजयश्च मुनीश्वर ।
 तपस्सु द्वादशाङ्गेषु रतो जिनपरायण ॥ २४ ॥

विचित्रसेन खलु पूर्णभद्रा श्रीकाचनादि खलु भद्रकाश्च ।
 श्रीविष्णुसेन खलु माणिकाख्य श्रीलक्ष्मणाख्य खलु सेनकाश्च ॥ २५ ॥

तत्पट्टे वरवीरसेनमुनिपो भूयो वरज्ञानक
 श्रीपद्मादिचरित्रकारिण इमे एकान्तराष्ट्रं तप ।
 उग्रं येन कृतं तथा गुणागणो यस्मिन्पदे रम्यके
 चक्रे ज्ञानविधूतकल्मषचयो माराजयः संविद ॥ २६ ॥

श्रीमद्विमलसेनस्तु देवसेनस्तत पर ।
 सारं पञ्चविधं येन चक्रे ज्ञानवरेण हि ॥ २७ ॥

त्रिविद्यभावसेनार्यो वैश्याकरणशङ्कर ।
 श्रीमन्तो जयसेनाश्च अशनादितपोगुणा ॥ २८ ॥

तत्पट्टे गुणसेनक खलु महासेनस्ततो भाविक
 श्रीसिन्धुस्थामहिभृतस्यगुरुक प्रद्युम्नकाव्यं जगौ ।
 आचार्यो नरसेननाममुनिपो योऽनन्तवीर्यो गुणी
 राज्ये राजति राजभद्रमुनिराहू श्रीबीरभद्रस्तत ॥ २९ ॥

श्रीरामभद्रो मुनिनागसेनो महेन्द्रसेनो मुनिभद्रनामा ।
 श्रीजैनमार्गाब्धिविवर्धनाय राकापतित्वं समुपागतास्ते ॥ ३० ॥

श्रीसूरीश्वरबन्धुपेणविबुधो विद्वज्जनानन्दनो
 षादीमानविमर्दनो विजयते श्रीविश्वसेनो यति ।
 श्रीछत्रादिपदादिमा खलु तत सेनास्ततश्चार्यका
 सेना न स्तत्कमाद्भाविनाम् ॥ ३१ ॥

ब्रह्मसेनस्तत पट्टे बभूव गुणिनां गुणी ।
 अलङ्घनगरे येन ब्रह्माह्वानेन सयुजा ॥ ३२ ॥

शान्तिनाथप्रसादेन चक्रे सिद्धान्तवेदिनाम् ।
 कृपापरेण विदुषां ज्ञानधृता हि सा किल ॥ ३३ ॥
 श्रीमल्लिषेणा मुनयो बभूवुर्गुणैर्युताश्चैव तपोनिषक्ता ।
 नानाविधध्वान्तनिवारणैकविज्ञानदक्षा खलु धर्मरक्ता ॥ ३४ ॥
 पद्मावतीकल्पमुखास्तु मन्त्रग्रन्था कृता येन सुधीवरेण ।
 पञ्चाधिका विंशतिरत्र जाता शास्त्रस्य मंत्रार्थविनिश्चयाय ॥ ३५ ॥
 तत्पट्टे वरषाढदेवभुवने त्रैविद्यपुष्पादिक
 सेनाबादिविवादमस्तकतुद श्रीह्रमसेनस्तत ।
 तत्पट्टे ह्यभयादिसेनमुनिपो लक्ष्म्यादिभद्रस्तत
 श्रीमज्जेनमते विचक्षणतरा धीमधूवरिस्वामिन ॥ ३६ ॥
 श्रीपार्श्वसेना विजयादिसेना श्रीराजसेना अजितादिसेना ।
 त्रैविद्यचक्रेश्वरपूर्णावर्णा नरेन्द्रसेना नयसेनसङ्गा ॥ ३७ ॥
 श्रीसूरसेना कमलादिभद्रा आशाधरस्य व्रतदायिनोऽभी ।
 देवेन्द्रसेना सुकुमारसेना अभोजनादिप्रतप प्रकारिण ॥ ३८ ॥
 चण्डादिविहारपञ्चकशुभप्रावेशसंभाषणा—
 दल्लादे खलु खानसङ्गनृपतेर्बाणव्यथाहारिण ।
 कारासंज्ञनिवासिनां च कृपया बंध समाविच्छिदु—
 गङ्गामध्यविराजिपट्टसवनं त्वल्लावदीनं जगु ॥ ३९ ॥
 तत्पट्टे खलु दुर्लभादिकपद सेनस्तत श्रीधर
 सेनाकुञ्जरनाथनाथसदसि प्रख्यातशास्त्रेशितु ।
 जेता यो यमदण्डसङ्गविबुधैर्वक्तुं तत श्रीधर
 श्रीकान्तीनगरे तु दर्शनसमान् मासान् तु बौद्धै सह ॥ ४० ॥
 द्वात्रिंशद्वटभञ्जना खलु तत श्रीपेणसंज्ञा क्रमात्
 लक्ष्मीसेनबुधा यमादिसहितास्त्रैविद्यसोमादिमा ।
 सेना स्तम्भकतीर्थपूर्वकशिबस्वाम्याख्यवादीरिणो
 मान्यो महमुदपातसाहनृपते शिष्यास्तत सबुधा ॥ ४१ ॥
 श्रीमत् श्रीश्रुतवीरसंज्ञविबुधा बादीभपञ्चानान
 अङ्कुलेश्वरसंज्ञरम्यनगराद् भवस्यसंज्ञं पुरम् ।
 गत्वा महमुदपातसाहनृपते श्रीमत्समस्यां गुरु—
 प्रापुर्ये प्रतिदेशकेषु सततं जेजीयकं मुक्तवान् ॥ ४२ ॥
 श्रीधरसेना किल देवसेना श्रीदेवभद्रा खलु तत्र पट्टे ।
 अथो बभूवु सहगर्ववादीगजेन्द्रकुम्भस्थलदानसिक्ता ॥ ४३ ॥

सिंहास्थलस्याखिलपूरिवृन्दसुखार्धभौमा किल सोमसेनकाः ।
त्रैविद्यपूर्वा सकलार्हत्तश्रुतप्रजानरेन्द्र किल वन्दिताग्रय ॥ ४४ ॥

श्रीमद्भूरिगणैकपात्रनिपुणो भव्याम्बुजाहादकृत्
मिथ्यावादिमद्देन्द्रभेदनपवि सच्छास्त्रचचूरकाम् ।
वादीन्द्रैकसुसोमसेनयतिराटपट्टोदयाद्रौ रवि
ख्यातः श्रीगुणभद्रसुरिगुरुराट् नन्द्याक्षिरं भूतले ॥ ४५ ॥

तेषां पट्टे गणी जातो श्रुतवीरो गुणाकर ।
विद्वज्जनसरोजानां मुदे रविरिवानिशम् ॥ ४६ ॥

तत्पट्टे गुणसेनसूरिविदितो विद्वान् सभापंडित
पश्चाच्छ्रीगुणभद्रदेवमुनिपो भव्याम्बुजाहादक ।
तर्कव्याकरणादिशास्त्रजळधि श्रीलक्ष्मिसेनस्तत
जीयादिन्दुसमानकीर्तिरमल भट्टारकाधीश्वर ॥ ४७ ॥

॥ इति पट्टावलि ।

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DHŪRTĀKHYĀNA IN THE NISĪTHA-CŪRNĪ*

When I wrote my essay 'The Dhūrtākhyāna a Critical Study',¹ I knew from a reference that the *Nisītha-cūrṇi* of Jinādāsa-gaṇi Mahattara contained some information about the rogue Elāsādhā. Prof J C Jain, Bombay, later on informed me that he had read something like the *Dhūrtākhyāna* in that Cūrṇi to the text of which unluckily I had no access. It is lately that my friends Dr B J Sandesara and Dr U P Shah, Baroda, kindly made available to me the necessary extracts from the N-cūrṇi, cyclostyled-type-script-ed by Ācārya Śrī Vijayapremasūri (Bombay V S 1995), vol I, pp 92-95. The following observations are based on these extracts, which are given at the close of this essay in an Appendix.

To begin with there are the following three gāthās of the *Nisīthabhāṣya* (nos 294-6) which give the requisite clue words of the illustrative tale.

ससपलासाढमूलदेवखडा य जुण्णवज्जाणे ।
सायंतणे को भत्तं अक्खातं जो ण सहहति ॥ २९४ ॥
चोरभया गावीओ पोदुलए बंधिऊण आणेमि ।
तिलअइरूढकुहाडे वणगय मलणा य तेल्लोदा ॥ २९५ ॥
वणगयपाटणकुंडिय छम्मासा हत्थिलग्गणं पुच्छे ।
रायरयग मो वादे जहि पेच्छइ ते इमे वत्था ॥ २९६ ॥

After these gāthās, the Cūrṇi gives in Prākṛit prose with a couple of metrical quotations in Sanskrit a fully developed story of the Dhūrtas. At the end we have a sentence like this

सेस धुत्तक्खणगाणुसारेण जेयमिति ॥ गतो लेइयो मुसावातो ।

Looking at the clue words in the gāthās, one can say that the Cūrṇi has given all that is obviously hinted in them, but the concluding colophon says that something is remaining and that it should be known from, or completed according to, the *Dhuttakkhānaga*.

The story given in the N-cūrṇi may be analysed thus. Many Dhūrtas assembled in the Old Park to the north of Ujjainī in the territory of Āvanti. Three of them, males Sasaka, Elāsādhā, Mūladeva, and the fourth, a female, Khandapānā. Every one of them had five hundred rogues as their pupils, of their own sex. Once during the rains, it was pouring down for a week, oppressed by hunger these rogues wondered who would give them food. Mūladeva said 'Let every one narrate his experience or information, one who does not believe it should give a feast to all, but one who confirms it with parallels

* Published in the Vijayavallabhasūri Commemoration Volume, Bombay 1956

¹ This is included in the edition of the *Dhūrtākhyāna* by Jinavijaya Muni, Singhji Jain Series No 19, Bhāratiya Vidvā Bhavan, Bombay 1944

from the *Bhārata*, the *Rāmāyana* and other scriptures is not to give anything' All of them said, 'Very well'

Elāsādhā narrated this incident 'When I went to the forest with cows, I saw some robbers coming I packed the cows in my blanket, and returned to my village with that luggage to witness the sports of villagers The robbers rushed in there The entire village, all men and animals, entered a cucumber The robbers went away A goat swallowed that cucumber, a boa gulped that goat, a crane picked up that boa and perched on a Vata tree, with one of its legs dangling down An elephant from the king's military camp was tied to it The crane started flying, the elephant was pulled up, there was a hue and cry, and consequently skilled archers shot the crane down Its body was vivisected at king's orders, the boa, the goat, the cucumber were taken one from inside the other The whole village came out of the cucumber along with myself and my cows They all went to their respective places and I came here Now tell me whether this is true' When they said that this is all true, Elāsādhā asked, 'How can a blanket contain all the cows, and a cucumber, the village?' Others added that in the *Bhārata* it is said that the whole universe was under one ocean, there was an Egg in the waters, and the entire universe was contained in that egg, if so, why could not your cows be contained in the blanket, and why could not the village be contained in a cucumber Secondly, the entire universe was in Visnu's stomach, he was in Devakī's womb, and she lay on her bed, similarly, the cucumber, goat, boa and crane could each be contained in the belly of the next.

Śasaka started narrating 'After ploughing the field, sesamum seeds were sown during winter, and they grew into big trees When a wild elephant pursued me, I climbed a sesamum tree It shook the tree and rushed round, showering the seeds and crushing them under its feet There was a stream of oil and lot of mud in which the animal got stuck and died I prepared a bag from its skin and filled it with oil I ate a load of sesamum cakes and drank pots of oil Putting that bag on the branch of a tree, I reached home, my son pulled the tree and took the bag This is my experience one who does not accept it should give the feast' Others added thus These ideas are found in scriptures like the *Bhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* A stream in which the entire army was plunged is described Secondly, a big sesamum plant is not impossible, for it is said that at Pātaliputra a drum was carved out of a māsa plant'

Mūladeva then narrated 'As a youth, yearning for prosperity, I proceeded to the abode of Īśvara for a bath with a gourd-kettle and an umbrella in hand A wild elephant rushed against me There being no other alternative I entered the gourd-kettle through the spout The elephant also followed me, but I could elude and evade it for six months inside Then I escaped through the spout, the elephant also pursued me, but its tail-end was caught there I reached the Ganges which I crossed easily, and took the stream of it on my head for six months Then I saluted Mahāśena, came back here and met you all Either accept this as true or give a feast to all the rogues' Others added thus 'What you say is true and reasonable Brāhmanas, etc, came out from the different parts of Brahmā's body in which the entire population was contained, similarly, the elephant and yourself could be contained in a gourd-kettle Secondly, Brahmā and Visnu could not reach the terminus of the Linga even after many years, still Umā's body could accommodate it, similarly an elephant and yourself could be contained in the kundikā Thirdly, when Visnu was reposing in the ocean, Brahmā came out of his navel,

but the lotus (stalk) was stuck at it, similarly the tip of the tail could be stuck even when you both came out of the spout. Fourthly, Rāma ordered Sugriva to get news about Sitā, Hanūmat was entrusted with this mission which he fulfilled by crossing the ocean by his arms, similarly you also could cross the Ganges. Lastly, when Gangā was invited on the earth, Paśupati received her in his matted hair for years together, similarly you could receive the stream of the Ganges for six months'

In reply to Khandapānā's suggestion, the Dhūrtas said that they would not sacrifice their self-respect for a meal. She smiled and started narrating thus: 'I am the daughter of a king's washerman. Accompanied by my retinue I went to the river with a cart-load of clothes to be washed. All the clothes spread in the sun were blown off by the wind. Being afraid of the king, I became a lizard and entered the garden where I changed myself into a mango tree. I heard one day that washermen were all forgiven, so I became myself once more. The ropes and stripes of the cart were eaten by jackals, so my father got them prepared from a buffalo's tail. Tell me whether you accept all this as true.' Others said in this manner: 'If it is true that Brahmā and Keśava could not reach the terminus of the Linga, how is it that your statement is not true? Secondly, it is heard in the *Rāmāyana* that Hanūmat had a long tail, which, covered with rags and sprinkled with oil, was lit up and thereby Lankā was burnt, similarly ropes could be prepared from a buffalo's tail. Thirdly, we hear in the scripture that King Gandharva became a dwarf, that Kimaśva became a boa at Indra's curse, and that a boa asked with a human voice seven questions to Dharma who answered them and rescued his brother and then became King Ravi on the termination of the curse. Similarly, that you became a lizard and then again yourself is quite believable.'

Then Khandapānā suggested to them to submit to her lest they might be humiliated, but they were proud of their dignity. She smiled and continued: 'With king's permission I went out in search of my slave-servants who had run away, I visited many villages and towns, and here I find that those slave servants are yourselves and those clothes are on your body, if true, give the clothes, if false, give the feast. What is said is significant.'

It is necessary to compare Jinadāsa's Dhūrtākhyāna (JD) with Haribhadra's Dhūrtākhyāna (HD). In JD there are only four Dhūrtas while in HD there are five, the additional name being that of Kandarika. The order of their enumeration is slightly different, and Mūladeva does not occupy a very prominent position in JD as he does in HD. In JD Elāsādhā, Śaśaka, Mūladeva and Khandapānā narrate their experiences one after the other, their experiences being confirmed by all the rogues and not by any one specifically as in HD. What Elāsādhā narrates as his experience in JD is put in the mouth of Kandarika in HD where Elāsādhā confirms it with Purāṇic stories. The patterns of the stories narrated by Śaśaka, Mūladeva and Khandapānā are the same in both, with the difference that Mūladeva is given the third turn in JD and the narration of Khandapānā is substantially longer in HD with the result that the whole tale assumes a different form at the close in HD. That which is put in the mouth of Elāsādhā by HD is absent in JD.

What Elāsādhā narrates in JD has some additional details in HD. It is confirmed by other rogues by only two parallel events from the *Bhārata* etc., in JD, but by six parallel stories in HD. The patterns of experiences of Śaśaka and Mūladeva are basically the same in both, but if JD confirms them with two and five similar contexts from the

śrutis, HD gives ten and eight parallels. Thus it is obvious that HD draws upon a wider range of mythology and gives meticulously more episodes to confirm the obviously incredible details of personal experiences.

Comparing similar contexts one finds that the narration in JD is uniformly simple and direct. Words and phrases from it are bodily found in HD. It is interesting to compare common expressions in JD and HD in similar contexts. A few passages¹ are reproduced below.

JD

HD

(१) उज्जेणी णाम नगरी, तीसे उत्तरपासे जिण्णु-
ज्जाणं णाम उज्जाणं । तत्थ बह्वे धुत्ता समागया ।
एकेक्कस्स पंच पंच धुत्तसता, धुत्तीणं पंचसयं
खंडपाणाए । अह अण्णाया पारसकाले सत्ताह-
वदले भुक्खत्ताणं इमेरिसी कहा संवुत्ता । को अम्हं
देज भत्तं ति । मूलदेवो भणति । जं जेणुभूयं सुयं
वा सो तं कहयतु । जो तं ण पत्तियति तेण
सव्वधुत्तणं भत्तं दायव्वं । etc

(१) उज्जेणी णाम णामेण ॥ २ ॥ तीसे उत्तर
पासे उज्जाणं ॥ ३ ॥ तत्थ धुत्ताण सयाणेगा
समागया ॥ ४ ॥ इक्किक्कस्स य तेसिं धुत्ताणं
पंच पंच सया ॥ ७ ॥ धुत्तीणं पंचसया खंडवणाए
॥ ८ ॥ सत्ताहदुहिणम्मि ॥ १० ॥ सीअवदला-
मिहया । भुक्खत्ता बिति तहिं को अम्हं दिज्ज भत्तं
ति ॥ ११ ॥ अह भणइ मूलदेवो जं जेण सुअं च
समणुभूअं वा । तो तं कहइ सव्वं ॥ १२ ॥ जो तं न
पत्तिइज्जा तेण सव्वेसिं । धुत्ताणं दायव्वं भतपाणं
ति ॥ १३ ॥

(२) चोरा कल्लयलं करेमाणा तत्थेव णिवतिता ।
सो य गामो सदुपदचउपदो एक्क वालुंकं दविट्ठो
बडपायवे णिलीणा सहवेहिणो गहियचावा पत्ता
पतगसेणा इव भूबिलाओ सो गामो वालुंकातो
निगंगुमारओ ।

(२) कल्लयललं करिता पडिया चोरा णवरि तत्थ ॥
२-१० ॥ तो सो सवाल्लवुओ सइत्थिओ जणवओ
सपसुवग्गो । अह चोडपहिं सइओ वालुंकं अइगओ
सव्वो ॥ ११ ॥ सा तत्थेव णिलीणा तुंगे बड-
पायवे विउले ॥ १४ ॥ सपत्ता सहवेहिणो जोहा ।
इसुचावगहियहत्था ॥ १७ ॥ अह सलभाण य
सेणा रेफबिलाओ विणिक्खमइ ॥ २३ ॥

(३) तरुणत्तणे अहं इच्छियसुहामिलासी धारधरण-
ट्टाए सामिगिहं पट्टितो छत्तकमंडलुहत्थो पेच्छामि
य वणगय मम बहाए एज्जमाणं, ततो अहं भीतो
अत्ताणो असरणो किंचि णिलुक्कणट्टाणं अपस्समाणो
दगच्छुण्णालपण कमंडल अतिगओ म्हि । सो वि
गयवरो मम बहाए तेणेव[णालप-]ण अतिगतो ।
ततो मे सो गयवरो छम्मास अंतोकुंडीयाए वामो-
हियो etc

(३) तरुणत्तणम्मि अहय इच्छिअसुहसंपय अहिल-
सतो धाराधरणट्टाए सामिगिहं पत्थिओ सुइरं
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इं ति चिंततो तो सहसा य अइगओ कमंडलुं
॥ २१ ॥ मज्झाणुमगल्लग्गो कमंडलुं अइगओ
सिग्गं ॥ २२ ॥ इत्थि कमंडलुस्मी वामोहेऊण
छम्मासं etc

¹ The Prākṛit passages reproduced in this paper are exactly as they are in the extracts supplied to me. I am aware, they present some difficulties of interpretation in some places.

The two Sanskrit quotations found in JD are also there in the same context in HD (namely, *teṣāṃ* etc., HD 4-20, and *tava prasādāt* etc. HD 1-87*1) HD adds more dignified descriptions here and there, and additional details are presented in it in smooth gāthās. JD wants just an illustration of Laukika-musāhvāda, and whatever is given by the Cūrṇī serves that purpose.

HD has its own characteristics. It is an independent treatise put in a well thought-out satirical frame. The opening and concluding portions fully bear out this. The satirical effect in HD is worked out more logically and in a subtle and effective manner, which is conspicuously absent in JD. What HD adds after 5-76 has nothing corresponding to it in JD, and it may not be just an accident that the major portion of it is composed in a heavy style. In its concluding portion HD puts together a number of detached episodes, especially from the *Bhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, and asserts that all of them are incredible.

From the extract, I am inclined to believe that the Cūrṇī gives all that is hinted in the Bhāṣya-gāthās. The colophon *śeṣam dhuttakkhānugānusāreṇa neyam itī* if it is genuine and belongs to the author of the Cūrṇī, would lead us to the conclusion that there was a longer *Dhuttakkhāna* in Prākṛit prose from which the major portion is extracted by the Cūrṇī.

The objective comparison of JD and HD leads me to the conclusion that HD is an elaborated and perfected work based on JD or its predecessor as postulated above. The reasons for this may be stated as below:

- (1) JD is uniformly shorter in its pattern tales and confirmatory episodes from the Purāṇas all of which are better worked out with supplementary details in HD.
- (2) HD incorporates everything in JD and adds more details to it.
- (3) The simple and narrative details of JD are presented in a more elaborate manner and polished style in HD.
- (4) The number of characters and of references to Purāṇic tales increases in HD, which presents them more logically and effectively.
- (5) What is a simple narrative illustration in JD is culled into an effective satire in HD with seeds of religious propaganda which are later on elaborated in the *Dharmapāriksā* texts.

Thus Haribhadra has built his satirical masterpiece incorporating or using both words and ideas from an earlier *Dhuttakkhāna* preserved in the Cūrṇī. By his literary genius, logical acumen and wide learning he has shaped the simple stuff into a dignified literary masterpiece, unique in Indian literature.

The above objective comparison of the two versions in the JD and HD and the conclusion that Haribhadra used for his *Dhūtākhyāna* the story given in the Cūrṇī does not in any way violate the relative chronology of the two authors, Jinadāsa and Haribhadra. Jinadāsagani Mahattara, the author of *N. Cūrṇī*, has also written a Cūrṇī on the *Nandīsūtra* which was composed by him in Śaka 598 or 677 A.D.¹ and Haribhadra is assigned to a period about 750 A.D.²

¹ Shri Jinavijaya. The Date of Haribhadrasūri, A Paper read at the First Oriental Conference, Poona 1919, p. 144. H. Jacobi. *Samavācchakāhā*, Calcutta 1926, Intro. p. 111.

² A portion of this essay was presented to the Prākṛit and Jainaism Section of the XVII Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad.

APPENDIX

(The story from the *N Cūrnī* is presented here with minor corrections, adjustments in punctuation etc.)

अबन्ती । उज्जेणी णाम नगरी, तीसे उत्तरपासे जिणुज्जाणं णाम उज्जाणं । तत्थ बह्वे धुत्ता समागय ससगो, एलासाढो, मूलदेवो, खंडपाणा य इत्थिया । एक्केक्कस्स पच्च पंच धुत्तसत्ता धुत्तीणं पंचसयं खंडपाणाए । अह अण्णया पाउसकाले सत्ताइवहले भुक्खत्ताणं इमेरिसी कहा सवुत्ता । को अम्हं देज्ज भत्तं ति । मूलदेवो भणति ‘जं जेणुभूयं सुयं वा सो तं कहयतु, जो तं ण पत्तियति तेण सव्वधुताणं भत्तं दायव्व । जो पुण भारहरामायणसुतीसमुत्थाहि उवणयसव्वतीहिं पतीहिति सो मा किंचि दलयतु’ । एवं मूलदेवेण भणिते सव्वेहिं वि भणियं ‘साहु साहु’ ति । ततो मूलदेवेण भणिय ‘को पुव्वं कहयति’ । एलासाढेण भणिय ‘अहं मे कहयामि’ ।

ततः सो कहिउमारद्धो । “अहं गावीओ गहाय अडवि गओ, पेच्छामि चोरे आगच्छमाणे । तो मे पावरणी-कंबली पत्थरिऊणं तत्थ गावीओ छुमिऊणाहं पोटटलयं बंधिऊण गाममागतो, पेच्छामि य गाममज्झयारे गोहं रममाणे । ताहं गहिय गावो ते पेच्छिउमारद्धो । खणमेत्तेण य चोरा कलयलं करेमाणा तत्थेव णिवतिता । सो य गामो सदुपदचउप्पदो एकं बालुकं पविट्ठो । ते य चोरा पडिगया । ‘तं पि बालुकं एगाए अजियाए गसियं । सा वि अइआ चरमाणा अयगलेण गसिया । सो वि अयगले एकाए ढंकाए गहितो । सा उड्डिउं वडपायवे णिलीणा । तीसे य एगो पाओ बलंबति । तस्स य वडपायवस्स अहे खधावारो ठिओ । तमि य ढंकापाए गयवरो आगलितो । सा उड्डिउं पयत्ता । आगासिउ पाओ, गयवरो कट्ठिउमारद्धा । ढोवेहिं कलयलो कओ । तत्थ सहवेहिणो गहियचावा पत्ता । तेहिं सा जमगसमगं सरेहिं पूरिता मता । रण्णा तीए पोटटं फाडाविं । अयगरो दिट्ठो, सो वि फाडाविओ । अजिया दिट्ठा, सा वि फाडाविआ । बालुकं दिट्ठ रमणिज्जं । एत्थंतरे ते गोहहा उपरता । पतंगसेणा इव भूबिलाओ सो गामो बालुकातो निगंतु मारद्धो । अहं पि गहिय गाओ णिगतो । सव्वो सो जणो सट्ठाणाणि गतो । अहं पि अवउज्झिय गाओ इहमागतो । तं भणइ कहं सच्चं ।” सेसगा भणंति ‘सच्चं सच्चं’ । एलासाढो भणति ‘कहं गावीओ कंबलीए मायाअ’, गामो वा बालुके’ । सेसगा भणंति ‘भरहसुतीए सुव्वति जहा पुव्वं आसी एगण्णवं जगं सव्व, तम्मि य जले अहं आसी । तम्मि य अहंगे ससेलवणकाणं जगं सव्वं जति मायं तो [p 93] तुह कंबलीए गावो बालुके वा गामो ण माहिति । जं भणसि जहा ढेक्कदरे अयगले तस्स य अतिआ तीए बालुकं पत्थ वि भण्णति उत्तरं । ससुरासुरं सनारकं ससेलवणकाणं जगं सव्वं जह विण्हुसुदरे मातं सो वि य देवतीउदरे मातो, सा वि य सयणिज्जे माता, जइ एय सच्चं तो तुह वयणं कहं असच्च भविस्सति ।’

ततो ससगो कहिउमारद्धो । “अम्हे ककुंविपुत्ता, कयाइं च करिसाणातिं । अहं सरयकाले खेत्तं अहिगओ । तम्मि य छेत्ते तिलो वुत्तो । सो य परिसो जातो जो परं कुहाडोहिं छेत्तव्वो । तं समंता परिभमामि, पेच्छामि य आरण्णं गयवरं । तेणम्हि उच्छित्तो, पलातो, पेच्छामि, य अइप्पमाणं तिलरुक्खं, तम्मि विलगो पत्तो य गयवरो । सो मं अपावन्तो कुलालचक्कं व तं तिलरुक्खं परिभमति, चाळेति तत्थ तिलरुक्खं । तेण य चाळिते जलहरो विव तिलो तिलवुट्ठिं मुंचति । तेण य भमंतेण चक्कित्ता विव ते तिला पिलिता । तओ तेळोदा णाम णदी वूढा । सो य गयो तत्थेव तिलचळणीए खुतो मओ य । मया वि से चम्मं गहियं

दत्तितो कतो, तेह्रसभरितो । अहं पि खुधितो खलभारं भक्खयामि, दस तेह्रघडा तिसितो पियामि । तं च तेह्रपडिपुणं दइयं वेस्तुं गामं पट्ठिओ । गामबहिया रुक्खसालाए णिक्खिविउं तं दइयं गिहमतिगतो । पुत्तो य मे दइयस्स पेसिओ । सो तं जाहे ण पावइ ताहे रुक्खं पाडेउ गेण्हेत्था । अहं पि गिहाओ उओट्ठि परिभंसो इहमागओ । पयं पुण मे अणुभूतं । जो ण पत्तियति सो देउ भत्तं । सेसगा भण्णति 'अत्थि एसो य भावो भारहरामायणे सुत्तीसु णज्जति ।

तेषा कटतटभ्रष्टैर्गैजानां मद्विन्दुभिः ।

प्रावर्तत नदी घोरा हस्त्यश्वरथवाहिनी ॥ १ ॥

जं भणसि कहं एमहंतो तिलरुक्खो भवति । एत्थ भण्णति—पाडलिपुत्ते किल मासपादवे भेरी णिम्मविया, तो किह तिलरुक्खो एमहतो ण होजाहि ।

तत्तो मूलदेवो कहितुमारद्धो । सो भणति "तरुणतणे अहं इच्छियमुहामिलासी धाराधरणदठताए सामिगिहं पट्ठितो छत्तकमंडलहरथो, पेच्छामि य बणगयं मम वहाए एज्जमाण । ततो अहं भीतो अत्ताणो असरणो किंचि णिलुक्कणट्ठणं अपस्समाणो दगच्छद्वुण्णालएणं कंढलं अतिगओ म्हि । सो वि गयवरो मम वहाए तेणवतं अतिगतो । ततो मे सो गयवरो छम्मास अतेकुडीयाए वामोहिओ । तओ हं छम्मासंते कुंडियगीवाए णिग्गतो । सो वि य गयवरो तणवतं णिग्गतो, णवरं वालगं ते कुंडियगीवाते लग्गो । अहमवि पुरतो पेच्छामि अणोरपारं गंगं । सा मे गोपयमिव तिण्णा । गतो म्हि सामिगिहं । तत्थ मे तण्हाद्युहासमे अगणेमाणेण छम्मासा धारिया धारा । ततो पणमिउण महारुणे पयाओ सपत्तो वज्जणि तुब्भं च इहं मिलिओ इति । तं जइ पयं सच्चं तो मे हेऊहि पत्तियावेह । अहमण्ह अलिय ति घुत्ताण देह तो भत्तं ।" तेहिं भणियं 'सच्चं' । मूलदेवो भणइ 'कह सच्चं' । ते भणति 'सुणेह । जह पुब्बं बंभाणस्स मुहातो विप्पा णिग्गया, बाहओ खतिया, ऊरुसु वइस्सा, पदेसु सुइसुहा । जइ इत्तिओ जणवओ तरसुदरे माओ तो तुमं इत्थी य कुंडियाए ण माहिह । अण्णं च किल बंभाणा विण्हू य उडढाहं धावतां गता दिव्व वास सहस्सं तदा वि लिंगस्संतो ण पत्तो । तं जइ एमहंतं लिंगं उमाए सरारे माते तो तुहं इत्थी य कुंडियाए ण माहिह । जं भणसि वालगो इत्थी कहं लग्गो, तं सुणसु । विण्हू जगरस्स कता [p 94] एगणवे तप्पति तवं जलसयणगतो, तरस य णामीओ बंभा पडमगबभणिओ णिग्गता णवरं पंक्कयणाभीए लग्गो, एवं जइ तुमं इत्थी य विणिग्गतो इत्थी वालगो लग्गो को दोसो । ज भणसि गंगा कहं उत्तिण्णो, गमेण किल सीताए पव्वतहेउं सुग्गीवो आणत्तो, तेणावि हणुमंतो, सो बाहाहि समुदं तरिउं लंकापुरिं पत्तो, दिट्ठा सीता, पडिणियत्तो । सीयाभत्तुणा पुच्छितो कह समुदं तिण्णो भणाति ।

तव प्रसादात् तव च प्रसादाद् भर्तुश्च ते देवि तव प्रसादात् ।

साधूभते येन पितु प्रसादास्तीर्णो मया गोष्पदवत्समुद्रः ।

जइ तेण तिरिण्ण समुद्रो बाहाहिं तिण्णो तुमं कहं गंगं ण तरिस्ससि । जं भणसि कहं छम्मासे धारा धरिता, एत्थ वि सुणसु । लोहहित्था सुरगणेहिं गंगा अब्भत्थिता 'अवतराहि मणुयल्लेगं' । तीए भणियं 'को मे धरेहिंति णिवडिंती' । पसुवतिणा भणियं 'अहं ते एगज्जहाए धारयामि' । तेण सा दिव्वं वासस-इस्स धरिता । जइ तेण सा धरिता तुमं कहं छम्मासं ण धरिस्ससि ।

अह पत्तो खंडपाणा कहितुमारद्धा । सा य भण्णइ । 'ओलंबितं ति अम्हेहिं जइ अंजलिं करिय सीसे ओसपेह जति न ममं तो भत्तं देमि सव्वेसि' । तो ते भणति 'घुत्ती, अम्हे सव्वं जगं तुलेमाणा

किं पयं दीणवयणं तुभं सगासे भणिहामो' । ततो ईसि हसेऊण खंडपाणा कहयति "अहरं रायरज-
 कत्स धूया । अहं अण्णया सह पित्रा वत्थाण महासगडं भरेऊण पुरिससहस्सेण समं णहिं सल्लिखपुण्णं
 पत्ता । योयाणि वत्थाइ, तो आयवदिण्णाणि उव्वायाणि । आगतो महावातो । तेण ताणि सव्वाणि
 वत्थाणि अवहरिताणि । ततो हं रायमया गोहारूवं काऊण रयणीए णगरुवजाणं गत्ता । तत्थ हं चूयलया
 जाता । अण्णया य सुणेमि जहा रयगा उम्मिट्तु अभयो सिं । पडहसइ सोऊण पुण णवसरीरा जाया ।
 तस्स य सगडस्स णाडग वरत्ता य जंबुएहि छागेहिं भविस्सत्ताओ । तओ मे पिउणा णाडगवरत्ताओ
 अण्णिस्समाणंण महिसपुच्छा लद्धा, तत्थ णाडगवरत्ता बलिता । तं भणह किमेत्थ सच्चं" । ते भणंति ।
 'बंभेसवा अंतं न गता लिंगस्स जति त सच्चं, तुह वयणं कइ असच्चं भविस्सइ' स्ति रामायणे वि
 सुणिज्जति जह हणुमतस्स पुच्छं महंतं आसी, तं च किल अणगेहिं वत्थसहस्सेहिं वेढिऊण तेल्खबडस-
 हस्सेहिं सिचिऊण पलीवियं, तेण किल लंकापुरी दडढा । एवं जति महिसस्स वि महंतपुच्छेण णाडग-
 वरत्ताओ जायाओ को दोसो । अण्णं च इमं सुई सुव्वति जहा । गंधारो राय रण्णे कुडवत्तणं पत्तो, अवरो
 वि राय किमस्सो णाम महाबलपरकमो, तेण य सक्को देवराया समरे णिज्जिओ, ततो तेण देवरायेण
 सावसत्तो रण्णे अयगलो जातो, अण्णया य पंडुसुआ रज्जयभट्टा रण्णं ट्टिता, अण्णया य पगाणि णीगतो
 भीमो, तेण य अयगरेण गसितो, धमसुतो य अयगरस्स मूलं पत्तो, ततो सो अयगरो माणुसीए वायाए
 तं धम्मसुतं सत्त पुच्छातो पुच्छति, तेण य कहितातो सत्त पुच्छातो, ततो भीमं णिग्गिळइ, तस्स सावस्स
 अंतो जातो, जातो पुण रविराया । जइ पयं सच्चं, तो तुमं पि सव्वभूतं गोहाभूय सभावं गंतुण पुण्णवा
 जाता' । तो खंडपाणा भणति 'एव गते वि मज्झ पणामं करेह, जइ कइंचि जिप्पह, तो काणा वि
 वव्वड्डिया तुभं सुल्लं ण भवति' । ते भणंति 'को म्हे सत्तो णिज्जिऊण' । तो सा हसिऊण भणति
 'तेसि वातहरियाण वत्थाण गवेसणाय णिग्गया रायाणं पुच्छिऊण, अण्णं च मम दासचेडा णट्ठा, ते य
 अण्णिस्सामि, ततो हं गामणगराणि अडमाणीं इहं पत्ता, तं ते दासचेडा तुभे, ताणि वत्थाणिमाणि जाणि
 तुभं परिहियाणि, जइ सच्चं तो देह वत्था, अहं अलियं तो देह भत्त ।' असुण्णत्थं भणिर्यामणं ।

सेस धुत्तक्खाणगाणुसारेण णेयमिति ॥ गतो लोइयो मुसावातो ।

PAÑCAVIMŚATI OF PADMANANDI*

1 PADMANANDI-PAÑCAVIMŚATI TITLE AND TEXT

The present edition of the *Padmanandi-pañcavimśatī* (Pp), 'A Collection of Twenty five Texts', is a decided improvement on its earlier editions, because some independent Mss have been collated (see the Hindi Introduction for the detailed description), the available Sanskrit commentary is added along with the text, and a carefully prepared Hindi *anuvāda*, along with *bhāvārtha*, is also given

The *Pp* is a suitable title given to a collection of texts which comprises some twenty-five small and big works of the *prakarana* type, each of which deals with some religious or didactic topic, not necessarily connected with the preceding or the following *prakarana*. Each *prakarana* has a title of its own which at times indicates the contents (as in I, II, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII and XXI) and at times contents as well as the number of verses in it (as in III, IV, V, XI, XVII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV and XXVI). Usually each one has a *mangala* and is duly rounded at the close. Most of them are religio-didactic discourses, but a few of them are hymnal or nearly hymnal (VIII, IX, XIII-XVIII, XX and XXI) and ritualistic (XIX) in character and coming in a group as it were. Excepting two *prakaranas* (XIII and XIV), which are hymns or prayers in Prākṛit *gāthās*, addressed to Rsabha and Jinavara, all others are in Sanskrit in long and short metres.

This collective title, *Pp*, is found in many Mss, both in the north and south.¹ It is obvious that one more *prakarana*, perhaps the last one, has been added later with the result that in this collection there are twenty-six texts, though it is called *pañcavimśatī* in the colophon of the Sanskrit Commentary. There are reasons to believe that all these *prakaranas* were, to begin with, independent texts, before they were put together under a common title. First, there are available separate Mss of most of these individual works in some cases accompanied by Kannada commentary as well. Secondly, each text is quite an independent unit, having hardly any connection with the earlier or the following section. Thirdly, the same topic is found discussed in more than one *prakarana*. Ordinarily, this is not likely, if the author intended all these texts to go together as one unit. Lastly, some verse or topic is repeated in different *prakaranas*. The author is a meditative poet, and naturally he expresses himself alike, if not identical, in various contexts.

The method of exposition in most of the *prakaranas* is of the nature of didactic anthology with the result that a verse here or there can be subsequently added. In some cases the author himself has specified the number of verses in a *prakarana*, and if this is violated

* This is the Introduction to the Padmanandi-Pañcavimśatī, published in the Jivaraja J Granthamāl Sholapur 1962

¹ H D VELANKAR *Jina-ratnakosa*, (Poona 1944), p 233, K B SHASTRI *Kannaḍa-prāntīya tādā patriya Grantha-sūci* (Banaras 1948), pp 52, 209

² H D VELANKAR *Ibid*, pp 197, 172, 7, 61, 317, 56, 180, 438, 34, 412, 215, 286, 59, 136, 398, 458, 445, 381, 135, 68, 96, 61, 238, 378, 456 and 286, also K B SHASTRI *Ibidem*, p 319.

by the present text, it means that some verses are added later on. Some *prakaranas* are called *aṣṭakas* some of them, as the designation requires, have actually eight verses (XVII, XX, XXIV and XXV), while others have nine (V and XXVI) or ten (XIX) verses. The rounding of an *aṣṭaka* with a concluding verse seems to have become conventional, and the presence of the 10th verse in XIX *ṣṢ* is necessitated by the ritualistic details that the offering of eight *dravyas* is followed by *arghya* or *puspāñjali*, and rounded by the author's reference to himself and to the fruit of the *pūjā* or worship. There is a clear discrepancy, excepting in two cases, between the author's specification of the number of verses and the one found in the present text as noted below

<i>Prakarana</i>	<i>Specified No</i>	<i>Actual No</i>
II <i>DU</i>	52	54 ¹
III <i>AP</i>	50	55
IV <i>ES</i>	70	80
XI <i>NP</i>	50	62
XII <i>BR</i>	22	22
XXII <i>EB</i>	10	11
XXIII <i>PV</i>	20	20

In some cases, the context itself may indicate that a verse is added later on, for instance, verse No 11, in XXII *EB*. It is necessary that Mss unaccompanied by the Sanskrit commentary and preferably from the south will have to be scrutinised for ascertaining the verses which are added later on despite author's specification of the number of verses. A careful study of three palm-leaf Mss (in Kannada characters) of the *Ekatva-saptati*² shows that it has only 74 verses according to them, that verses Nos 9, 53, 55, 74, 78 and 80 are not found in them, and that 79 is the last but one and 77 the concluding verse. It has to be admitted that even the Kannada Mss have four verses more than the number specified by the author. It has to be seen whether some of them were *uktam ca* to begin with, but got mixed up later in the text. The attempt of the Sanskrit commentary to call it *Ekatvāśīti*, against verse No 77, is irrelevant. If some Mss from Moodbidri are collated, these verses can be easily marked out. Likewise, a palm-leaf Ms (in Kannada characters)³ of XIV *ṢS* omits gāthā No 11 of the printed text and has only 33 verses in all.

2 ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS

The contents of the various *prakaranas* may be surveyed in short to get a broad idea of the topics covered by them.

I. The *Dharmopadeśāmrtam* (*DA*, verses 198) 'The Nectar of Religious Instruction'. This is a lengthy disquisition on *dharma*, partly systematic and partly anthological in its make-up, and written in a fluent style and high didactic tone. It opens with *mangala*

¹ Verses 7 and 42 are almost identical.

² These Mss were studied by Dr A N UPADHYE as early as 1930. One belongs to the Lakṣmī-sena Maṭha, Kolhapur, the second, to the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah, and the third, to the personal collection of the late lamented Pt APPASHASTRI, Udagaon (Dist. Kolhapur).

³ This belongs to the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah, and was made available to Shri A N UPADHYE in 1930 by Pt K B SHAṢTRI.

glorifying R̥ṣabha Jina, in meditation, Śāntinātha etc , who are the promulgators of Dharma Dharma has varying connotation in different contexts It means compassion to living beings, it is two-fold, for laymen and for monks, it consists of Right faith, Right knowledge and Right conduct, it is ten-fold *uttamakṣamā* etc , and ultimately, it is the spiritual manifestation, pure and blissful, and divested of the deluding distractions of mind, speech and body (7)

Compassion or kindness to life is most important, the veritable basis of all religious life, which, for a layman, is covered by 11 Pratimās (14) for the practice of which must be relinquished the 7 Vyasanās, *dyūta* etc , which are obviously foul, anti-social and full of sin The Yati-dharma, the religious duty of a monk, consists of five-fold *ācāra*, ten-fold *dharma*, *samyama* or self-restraint, *mūla* and *uttara-guṇas* etc , culminating into *samādhi-marana*, this enables one to reach Final Bliss (38)

Attachment for everything, including the body, has to be given up negligence, passions and possessions are all harmful for spiritual progress An omniscient Teacher is not accessible now, but his words are available in the scriptures which must be followed Great monks who practise equanimity, forbearance etc , and meditation deserve respect and glorification Human birth is difficult to be obtained, if it is there, the best advantage of it has to be taken for the practice of penance and consequent termination of Samsāra which is full of temptations The words of Jina are a guide to all, and enable one to experience the eternal sentient effulgence The unique nature of the sentient Real has to be realized, it is separate from and above everything else which is all worthless One should seek shelter of those who have realized this This exposition is concluded with eloquent glorification of Dharma

II The *Dānopaśeṣanam* (DU, verses 54) 'Instruction on Charity' King Śreyāṇs is the ideal example of a donor who gave gift of food to the first Tīrthakīra with a religious object A layman incurs a good bit of sin in his domestic and vocational routine pious giving of gifts is a balancing and redeeming feature for him So, he should give food etc , to a worthy recipient The houses and house-holders who have no contacts with monks are not in any way commendable The merit acquired by *dāna* is highly fruitful, and hence wealth must be expended in that direction without waiting for this or that, which is all uncertain The riches spent on temples, worship, entertaining monks and sustaining the learned and on redressing the poverty of the miserable, that alone belongs to oneself and the rest goes to others A man's life without charity is not worth living the four-fold gifts given properly yield great benefit here and elsewhere

III The *Antya-pañcāśat* (AP, verses 55) 'Fifty Stanzas on Transitoriness' It is expounded here with suitable illustrations and similes that the body, relative, pleasures etc , are all transitory, the end certainly comes according to one's Karmas, so one should not lament over one's lot Meeting in this life is like that of birds for a night on the tree Meeting and separation have to be faced with detachment, without any joy or sorrow One should ever be devoted to Dharma

IV The *Ekatva-saptatiḥ* (ES, verses 80) 'Seventy Stanzas on oneness or Separateness (of Ātman)' The eternal Parmātman characterised by sentiency, bliss and existence is glorified, and the sentient effulgence is hailed with reverence The sentient Real, the

Ātman, is, like fire in wood, in every one of us, but, being under long-standing delusion, one does not realize this. If a beneficial Teacher explains it, a few respect it, but most behave like the blind feeling the elephant. The Vitarāga shows the correct path, and a *bhavya*, by virtue of his *labdhis*, is on the path of Liberation consisting of three jewels. The sentient Real alone is worth realizing by experience. Attachment and aversion (*rāga* and *dveṣa*) have to be avoided, and the sentient Real is above dualities and too great to be described in words. It is realized in the Great Meditation which is variously named and described.

V The *Yatubhāvanāstakam* (YB, verses 9) 'Eight stanzas of Reflections on Munis' The author glorifies the Yatis, Munis or monks by specifying their outstanding qualities. They have accepted renunciation, and are free from attachment even for the body. They control their senses and concentrate their mind on the Ātman. They practise penances and are plunged in meditation even under unfavourable climate and adverse conditions.

VI The *Upāsaka-samskārah* (US, verses 62) 'Moulding of a layman' This is almost a manual on House-holder's Dharma. Rsabha preached the Dharma and king Śreyāns was the first to practise it. Mokṣa is reached through Dharma constituted of Right faith, Right knowledge and Right conduct, and practised in two ways, one by a Nirgrantha, a monk, and the other by a Grhin, Śrāvaka, householder or layman. The Śrāvaka or layman is the support of the temple,¹ monk, piety and charity. These constitute the religious routine to-day. He has to observe Six Duties, *deśapūjā* etc (7f), has to be a religiously balanced and integrated personality, and must cultivate *sāmāyika* (8) which is possible only by giving up the *vyasanas* (10). He should also practise 8 *mūlagunas* and 12 vows etc, and live in such a place and practise such a profession as will not come in the way of his religious life. He should practise Ahimsā, be philanthropic and sociable, reflect on 12 Anupreksās and be intent on ten-fold Dharma. He should meditate inwardly on his pure Ātman and practise outwardly kindness to all beings. Lastly, his mind should ever be fixed on the realization of sentient effulgence which is separate from everything else.

VII The *Deśavratoddyotanam* (DV, verses 27) 'Light on the *deśa*=or *anu-vratas*' It is an exposition on the career of a Śrāvaka. By penances and through meditation all the Karmas must be consumed and Liberation attained—that is the highest object for the human being. If that is found beyond the reach of any individual, he should lead the life of a sincere Śrāvaka or layman by practising the prescribed code of behaviour (5-6). Giving gifts to the worthy is a great balancing virtue for him. Śrāvakas are a great support of the community life, both social and religious (20). With devotion, it is they who build temples, consecrate images of Jina and celebrate religious festivities and thus, through *dharma*, they are on the path of *mokṣa*.

VIII The *Siddha-stuṭih* (SS, verses 29) 'Prayer to Siddha' In a dignified style, the author offers salutations or prayers to Siddha soliciting shelter from him and incidentally presenting a fine discourse on Siddha, his status, his achievements, his great qualities (especially *ananta-darśana*, *-jñāna*, *-vīrya* and *-sukha*) his being the Eternal Sentient Effulgence etc. All the excellences of Siddha cannot be comprehended, much less can they be described, and so even to remember his name with '*bhakti*' or devotion is beneficial.

¹ Here the reading *jinaḥ* is adopted.

IX The *Ālocanā* (*Al*, verses 33) 'Recounting, Reporting or Confessing one's acts' Glorifying the great qualities of Jina, the author offers a sort of prayer, recounting, repeating or confessing his shortcomings and defaults in thoughts, words and acts, direct as well as indirect, and seeks shelter of the Jina with a view that they might be *mūthyā*, null and void in effect. It is a self-analysis and self-introspection in the presence of Jina who knows everything, and the purpose is to divest oneself of similar faults further and attain internal purification. The mind is often perplexed and deluded, and endless defaults are there in life, and it is well-nigh impossible to expiate them. It is not possible, at present, to experience self-realization. *Samsāra* is *dvaita* and *Mokṣa* is *advaita*—one has to reach from, one to the other. The rigorous path of conduct preached by Jina is difficult in these days so devotion or *bhakti* towards Jina alone is one's rescue or shelter (30). Recitation of this *ālocanā* leads one to the abode of Bliss.

X The *Sadbodha-candodayah* (*SC*, verses 50) 'Moonrise of Real knowledge' This is an elegant exposition on the sentient Real *cit-tattva*=*ātmatattva*, also called *hamsa* [(a)ham sa]. Though this Real is known to some, it is difficult to be described. Very few experience it and attain liberation. Even men of learning get deluded in comprehending it—it is a fact of experience where in other faculties do not function. It is in oneself, but the deluded ones wander for it outside. It is something unique, though in the midst of all that is commonplace. *Karman* is different and *Ātman* is different—this is the pure meditation whereby one gets emancipation. The deluded soul has wandered long in sleep in the *samsāra*, and now it needs to be woken up by the moonrise of Real knowledge—the great *yogin* is exerting himself to achieve this.

XI The *Niscaya-pañcāśat* (*NP*, verses 62) 'Fifty stanzas on the Real' This is a discourse on the experience of self-realization from the Real (*niscaya*) point of view. The body is ephemeral, and its contact with *Ātman* temporary. The *Ātman*, however, is real and eternal, its experience, its realization is unique, sentient effulgence is beyond thoughts and words. When the mind is distracted from physical and other distractions and plunged in the ocean of joy, this sentient effulgence dawns in one's experience. It is rare and unique, and can be comprehended only from the *Niscaya* point of view wherein the three Jewels (*ratna-traya*) are realized is *Ātman* itself. Body is different, *Karman* is different from *Ātman*—this experience of isolation or separateness is important. When all the distractions are eschewed, intelligence suddenly flashes into that sentient effulgence of self-realization like moon-light on the ocean when the moon rises. When the distinction of *sva* and *para* is grasped, the *Ātman* is realized. Even the ideas of 'bound' and 'liberated' presume duality, so one has to rise above them to attain self-realization.

XII The *Brahmacarya-taksārāntiḥ* (*BR*, verses 22) 'A Medicinal Wick preserving celibacy' A woman's body is full of blemishes, its allurements are deceptive, and any attachment for it is a fall for a monk who is aspiring after self-realization. One should be engrossed in one's *Ātman* relinquishing all attachment, conquering senses and treating all women as mothers and sisters. Self-restraint is possible through suitable diet etc.,¹ and

¹ Something like this verse No. 4, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Bombay 1933, p. 82) puts the following verse in the mouth of Hemacandra:

सिंहो बली द्विरदशूकरमांसभोजी । सवत्सरेण रतमेति किलैकवेले ॥
पारापत खरशिलाकणभोजनोऽपि । कामी भवत्यनुदिन वद कोऽत्र हेतु ॥

all incentive to sex-passion has to be abandoned then and thus alone human life is made fruitful by practising severe penances which, in due course, lead one to the bliss of self-realization. The concluding verse explains how this *prakarana* is a veritable medicinal wick.

XIII The *Rsabha-stotram* (RS, Prākṛit verses 60) 'Prayer to Rsabha' This is a prayer offered to Rsabha, the first Tīrthakara. Incidentally it covers his biographical details in their mythological setting, almost from conception to his attainment of omniscience. Then are described his supernatural glories in the Samavasarana, especially the eight *prātihāryas*. The *anekānta* preached by him enlightens the right path which rescues one from the misery of *samsāra*. His greatness is unparalleled, his knowledge is all comprehensive, and his great qualities are beyond a poet's comprehension.

XIV The *Darśana-stuṭi* (DS, Prākṛit verses 34) 'A prayer (offered) at the sight of (the image of) Jina (in the temple)' Here the various direct as well as indirect effects, results or fruits of seeing Jina are described very often with striking similes.

XV The *Śrutadevatā-stuṭi* (SD, verses 31) 'Praise of Śrutadevatā' When the Tīrthakara attains Kevalajñāna, his divine deep voice (*divya-dhvanī*) flows out transforming itself into the various languages of the hearers, and it is this *vāṇī* that the basis of the conception of Śruta-devatā, Śaradā etc., who is given an embodied form, called also Sarasvatī, Ambā, all-white etc. Praise is offered to her who is an eternal effulgence, who bestows wisdom and poetic faculty, who shows a clear path, without whose aid life loses its purpose, who is devoted to by Ganadharas (that explain the *divya-dhvanī*), who is manifest in Aṅga texts and who opens the outlet to the highest knowledge etc. By reciting this hymn, one crosses the ocean of poetry and that of Samsāra.

XVI The *Svayambhū-stuṭi* (SV, verses 24) 'Prayer to (twenty-four Tīrthakaras beginning with Svayambhū, Ādijina or Rsabha)' Each stanza is a prayer offered to one Tīrthakara in a poetic style, sometime referring to his spiritual or religious benevolence, sometime giving an etymology or explanation of his named and sometime mentioning some significant trait or event in his spiritual career.

XVII The *Suprabhātāstakam* (SA, verses 8) 'Eight stanzas on the Blessed morning' The blessed morning has a symbolic meaning here. When the night and the consequent sleep of the Ghātiyā Karmas have reached their termination, the two cycles of omniscience *jñāna* and *darśana*, open for the Jina, his omnipresent knowledge enlightens the whole universe, all perverted views are dispelled and the right path is shown to all for their spiritual benefit. It is the *suprabhāta*, the dawning of omniscient blessedness, that is glorified here in a florid style.

XVIII The *Śāntinātha-stotram* (SN, verses 9) 'Praise addressed to Śāntinātha' The last *pāda* of each verse soliciting protection or shelter is identical in all the stanzas. The sixteenth Tīrthakara, Śāntinātha or the Lord of Peace, whose very name itself is alluring, is praised here with reference to Eight *prātihāryas*, more or less divine glories attending on him in his Samavasarana (i.e., the supernatural theatre for preaching), namely (1) *chatra-traya*, three umbrellas (one above the other), (2) *duṇḍubhi*, the drum, (3) *simhāsana*, the lion-seat, (4) *puṣpavarṣi*, shower of flowers, (5) *bhāmandala*, halo of

lustre, (6) *asoka*, Aśoka tree, (7) *divya-dhvani*, celestial voice; and (8) *cāmara*, chowry. It is the devotion or *bhakti* that tempts one to praise the greatness of Śāntinātha which is incomprehensible.

XIX The *Śrī-jinapūjāṣṭakam* (JP, verses 10) 'Eight stanzas for offering worship to Jina'. The first eight verses refer to the offering of (i) *jala*, water, (ii) *candana*, sandal paste, (iii) *akṣata*, a cluster of rice-particles, (iv) *puṣpa*, flowers, (v) *navedya*, foodstuff, (vi) *dīpa*, waving of lighted lamp, (vii) *dhūpa*, incense, (viii) *phala*, fruits, and lastly *puṣpāñjali*, a handful of flowers. Some of the ideas are expressed with a poetic flourish and eliminating apparent contradiction in offering these items to Jinēśvara who is free from *kṣudhā* etc. The Arhat or Jina is *kṛta-kṛtya* and hence the *pūjā* serves no purpose of his. An agriculturist cultivates the land not so much for the benefit of the king as for his own. One who offers *pūjā* has his heart and mind purified.

XX The *Śrī-karunāṣṭakam* (KA, verses 8) 'Eight stanzas soliciting Divine Mercy'. The suffering soul (styled here *kimkara*, *dīna*, *patita* etc.), plunged in the misery of rebirth, piteously appeals to Jinēśvara for rescue from Samsāra and solicits his mercy. A village headman gives shelter to any one in difficulty, what wonder then that the Lord of Worlds (called here *tribhuvanaguruḥ*, *jagatām prabhuh*, *kārunīkah* etc.) shows kindness to the soul oppressed by Karmas! The suffering soul can be happy so long as the lotus-feet of Jina are treasured in one's heart.

XXI The *Kṛyā-kānda-cūlikā* (KC, verses 18) 'A *cūlikā*, crest, appendix or concluding recitation at the close of the routine of duties'. The first nine verses constitute a devotional prayer offered to Jinendra by the author in the first person. The Jinendra is a mine of virtues and free from all the blemishes. However great a poet might be, it is not possible for him to encompass the entire height of his virtues, still the prayer is just an attempt to express the inner devotion. Devotional thoughts and prayers directed towards Jinendra achieve all the objects (*nīkhlārtha-siddhi*). Devotion to the feet of Jina is the highest solicitation and the greatest benefit. Study of all scriptures and practice of all conduct are not possible to-day, and hence, at present, devotion (*bhakti*) to Jina is the highest panacea, a gradual step to Mokṣa. The feet of Jinendra are the highest shelter wherethrough one might get the three-fold jewel and be free from all evils. Whatever blemishes have occurred through *pramāda* (carelessness, negligence, lack of vigilance etc.) in the practice of religious virtues and whatever sin has accrued thereby, the aspirant appeals to Jina, should become null and void,¹ by his remembering the feet of the latter. The Jinavānī characterised by the glow of Svādvāda and shedding light on the entire range of reality, is the supreme authority and valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). She is like a mother who should overlook the aspirant's short-comings in the prayers offered. This *Cūlikā*,² if recited thrice daily, eliminates all the blemishes in the daily routine arising out of physical, verbal and mental limitations of an individual.

XXII The *Ekatvabhāvanā-daśakam* (EB, verses 11) 'Ten stanzas of Reflection on Oneness or Separateness'. One who realizes oneself, one's own Ātman, the great effulgent

¹ These verses are of the pattern of *mūcchāmi cūlikāṃ* and then follows a prayer to Jinavānī.

² This *prakaraṇa* looks like a combination of two *aṣṭakas*, and the last two verses come like an appendage perhaps added by the author himself.

and sentient principle, is a great Yogin who is not afraid of Karmas and who crosses this Samsāra. Thus one attains the highest Bliss of Liberation which is immune from attachment and aversion (*rāga* and *dveṣa*)

XXIII The *Paramārtha-vimśatīh* (PV, verses 20) 'Twenty stanzas dealing with the Highest Object' In this Samsāra, that the Ātman is unique and separate from Karman (*advaita*) and also the seed of the tree of Liberation is not realized. This self-realization is characterised by infinite-quaternity (*ananta-catustaya*) and is above all worldly botherations. This state of isolation is an abode of infinite knowledge, therein one's perfect independence (*ekākiṭā*) is realized, and therein the self is realized (*so'ham*), eschewing passions and possessions. The body may be weak, the times may be bad—still nothing should come in the way of concentrating one's mind on that pure sentient spirit, leaving aside foreign adjuncts and outward attachments. If the Teacher's words burn bright, giving joy, in one's heart, all other considerations are subservient. When the Karmas are realized to be separate from Ātman, even the ideas of happiness and misery disappear. When the mind is firm, all other distractions lose their effect, the pure sentient Ātman is realized, there is no room for any attachment or desire, and it is a state, which words cannot adequately describe.

XXIV The *Śarīrāstakam* (SA, verses 8) 'Eight stanzas on body' The human body is a hut, full of dirt and perishable by nature. A sensible person should never be over attached to it and try to make it pure by water and sandal paste. It is not fit for enjoyment, but it should be yoked to the practice of penances and used as a boat to cross this worldly current. It should treasure the correct instructions of the Teacher. Contact with this body is the veritable worldly life, so one should not go on nourishing it and be attached to it.

XXV The *Snānāstakam* (Sn, verses 8) 'Eight stanzas on bathing' The Ātman is so pure by nature that no bathing is needed for it, while the body is so impure that bathing can never purify it. Real bathing consists in that sense of discrimination (*viveka*) which alone wards off the dirt of sin. The real *tīrtha* is the *ratnatraya* (Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct) in which the wise should dip themselves rather than in the stream of Ganges which cannot bestow internal purity and remove the sin. This body is so impure that no amount of *tīrtha-snāna* and camphor-paste can purify it, and one day it is sure to decay. So the wise should concentrate themselves on the cultivation of Samyag-darśana etc.

XXVI The *Brahmacaryāstakam* (BA, verses 9) Sex-passion is an animal instinct, so the wise people try to avoid it even in the case of their wives, then what to say with regard to other women! Sex-enjoyment is a trifle of satisfaction, and therefore, it cannot be called happiness. A self-controlled monk has to avoid it fully, because it is harmful to him here and elsewhere. It is a poison which allures fickle minds. This is addressed to those who are aspiring after liberation, so those who are plunged in sex-pleasures should receive it with toleration.

3 PADMANANDI HIS AUTHORSHIP

Among the twenty-six *prakaranas* put together under the common title *Pp*, four (XXII, XXIII, XXIV and XXVI) do not mention the name of the author, and the remaining twenty-two specify him as Padmanandi (in Prākṛit Poma- or Pomma-namdi

741, 774), sometimes, for metrical necessity, giving, at times by śleṣa, the synonyms Abja- (883), Ambhoja-(514), Ambhoruha-(838, 847) and Pankaja-nandī (396, 485, 930), he is qualified by terms like *bhavya*, *munī*, *yaśindra* and *sūri* which show that he was a pious and outstanding monk, and more than once the name of his *guru* is mentioned as Viranandī (198, indirectly 252 and 546) This is all that we know about Padmanandī from this *Pp*.

Though the four *prakaranas*, noted above, do not mention the author's name, they have much in common with others cf XXII *EB* with IV *ES*, XXII 6 and X *SC*, 49, cf XXIII *PV*, 9, 10 and 16 with III *AP*, 17, XXIII 18 with I *DA*, 55, XXIII 19 and 20 with I 54 and XI *NP*, 10, cf XXIV *SA*, 1 with III 3, XXIV 5 with III 17 etc., and cf XXVI *BA*, with XII *BR*, especially 665 and 939 Further, in XXVI *BA*, the author mentions himself as *munī* which often goes with Padmanandī in this work So even the anonymous sections have a stamp of similar contents, and are probably composed by the same author, Padmanandī

There have been many authors and saints bearing the name Padmanandī at different times and places It is easier to raise a question whether all these *prakaranas* are written by one and the same Padmanandī than to answer it, because there is no sufficient evidence, either internal or external, to tackle this problem satisfactorily It looks highly probable, though one should not be too sure, that the hand of one and the same author is apparent in all these *prakaranas* First, the name Padmanandī is mentioned at the close of most of them, and as noted above, even the anonymous ones have something strikingly common with others Secondly, there are some verses repeated or nearly repeated in different *prakaranas* for instance I 16 and VI 10, I 149 and IX 24, I 154 and XXIII 19 (the third line is differently worded), I 158 and IX 5 (some two lines alike), I 159 and IX 19, II 7 and II 42 (this is common in the same *prakarana*, thus increasing the specified number), III 3 and XXIV 1, XI 10 and XXIII 20 (partly), etc Thirdly, very similar topics, with quite parallel settings, are expounded in different *prakaranas* sec, for instance, I 125 and XIII 34, II 1f and VI 1f, IV *ES* and XXII *EB*, XII 6 and XXVI 9, etc Fourthly, the author's devotion to his *guru* and his words of instruction is repeatedly mentioned in various *prakaranas*, sec, for instance I 197, II 54, IX 32, X 26, 49, XI 4, 59, XXII 6, XXIII 16, etc Fifthly, the Prākṛit *prakaranas* have also some ideas common between themselves and with others for instance, XIII 23f and XVIII 1f, XIII 59 and XV 31, XIII 3 and XIV 16 Lastly, there are contexts in which similes and expressions are alike, for instance, IV 61 and VII 29 So, as long as there is no positive evidence to the contrary, one may work with the hypothesis that all the *prakaranas* are composed by one and the same Padmanandī

4 VARIOUS PADMANANDIS

There have been many saints bearing the name Padmanandī, and some of them have Prākṛit and Sanskrit works to their credit (i) Kundakunda of venerable antiquity had a name Padmanandī, and his various Prākṛit works are well-known¹ (ii) The *ġambūdvā-pannatti*,² a Prākṛit text on Jaina cosmography, is composed by Padmanandī who gives

¹ A N UPADHYE *Pravaranasura*, Intro pp 2 f, Bombay 1935

² Ed by H L JAIN AND A N UPADHYE, Sholapur 1958, see Intro pp 13 f For other discussion see also the *Indian H Quarterly* XIV, pp 188 ff, Calcutta 1938, J MUKTHAR *Purātana Jaina Vākyaśūci*, Intro pp 64 ff, Sarasawa 1950 N PREMI *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, 2nd ed, pp 256 ff, Bombay 1956

good many details about himself. He was a pupil of Balanandi and a grand pupil of Viranandi. Tentatively he is assigned to the close of the 10th or to the beginning of the 11th century A D (ii). The author of the Prākṛit Vṛtti on the *Pañcasamgraha*, lately published by the Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha (Banaras 1960), is Paumanandi who calls himself a *muni* and who is later than Akalanika (iv). The *Dhammarasāyanam*,¹ in 193 Prākṛit gāthās, is a disquisition on Dharma, and we only know that the name of the author is Padmanandi. There is no evidence to fix his age. (v) Padmanandi,² who, according to the Paṭṭāvali, succeeded Prabhācandra on the pontifical seat at Delhi (Ajmer?) is assigned to c. A D 1328-1393. He came from a Brahmin family, and is the author of the *Bhāvanāpaddhati*, a hymn of 34 verses in fluent Sanskrit, and the *Īrāpālī-Pāśvanāthastotra*. He consecrated an image of Ādinātha in the year A D 1393.³ It is his pupils that occupied further three seats of Bhattārakas at Delhi-Jaipur, at Idara and at Surat.

Then turning to epigraphic records, it is possible—though there are difficulties here and there—to list and distinguish a number of Padmanandis (who are introduced with some details) from the date specified and from their teachers and colleagues mentioned.

(i) Padmanandi Siddhānti-deva or -cakravartī of the Kundakundānvaya, Mūlasamgha, Krānūrgana and Tintrinika-gaccha was present in A D 1075 at the time of a religious donation.⁴ (ii) Kaumāradeva-vratī, who was a grand-pupil of Gollācārya and a pupil of Traikālyā-yogi, had also the well-known appellation Aviddhakarna-Padmanandi-siddhāntika. He belonged to the Deśi-gana, a sub-division of the Nandi-gana in the Mūlasamgha, and is referred to in an inscription of A D 1163. He had a colleague in Prabhācandra. His disciple was Kulabhūṣana who had a pupil in Māghanandi associated with Kollāpura.⁵ Possibly it is this Padmanandi that is referred to as *mantravādī* in an inscription of A D 1176.⁶ (iii) Padmanandi, a disciple of Nayakīrti and a colleague of Prabhācandra, is mentioned in some records dated A D 1181, 1195 and 1206.⁷ (iv) Padmanandi, a pupil of Rāv (m) anandi and a grandpupil of Viranandi, is mentioned in an inscription of the middle of the 12th century A D.⁸ (v) Padmanandi-pandita was one of the two eminent pupils of Adhyātmī Śubhacandra-deva who died in A D 1313 and whose epitaph they caused to be made as an act of reverence.⁹ (vi) Padmanandi-Bhattāraka-deva, a pupil of Bāhubali Maladhārīdeva, is mentioned in a record of A D 1303 when he got a temple constructed.¹⁰ (vii) Padmanandi-deva, disciple of Traividya-deva of the Kondakundānvaya of the Pustaka-gaccha of the Deśi-gana of the Mūlasamgha, passed away in A D 1316 (? 1376).¹¹

¹ Mānikacanda D. Jain Granthamālā, No. 21, *Siddhāntasarāṇīsamgrahaḥ*, pp. 192 ff., Bombay 1922.

² A. N. UPADHYE, *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā*, Intro. p. 79, Agas 1960, in which some earlier sources are duly noted.

³ So this Padmanandi could not be the author of the *Ekavāsaptatī* as it was once presumed.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica* (E.C.), VIII, Sorab No. 262.

⁵ E.C. II, ŚB, No. 64 (40).

⁶ Ibidem No. 66 (42).

⁷ Ibidem Nos. 327 (124), 333 (128) and 335 (130), he too is styled *mantra-vādīśvara*, Ibidem 66 (42). Thus the personalities of Padmanandi in ii and iii seem to merge into one.

⁸ P. B. DESAI, *Jainism in South India* (Sholapur 1957), pp. 280 f., see also E.C., VIII, Sorab Nos. 140, 233, Ibid., VII, Shikarpur No. 197.

⁹ E.C., ŚB No. 65 (41) and Intro. p. 86.

¹⁰ E.C., IV, Hunsur No. 14.

¹¹ E.C., ŚB, No. 269 (114).

(vii) Padmanandī, pupil of Prabhācandra, is highly praised in the Deogarh inscription of A D 1414¹

From the meagre information that we have gleaned about our Padmanandī, it is not possible to identify him with any one of the Padmanandīs, listed above, whose personalities are sufficiently distinct

5 PADMANANDI HIS AGE

It is to be seen what limits can be put to the age of Padmanandī, the author of *Pp*. No internal evidence is found in these *prakaranas*

(A) Whatever external evidence is available may be noted here chronologically, as far as possible

(i) A Ms of the Hindi Vacanikā² is dated *samvat* 1915, i e , A D 1858 Then there is a Ms of *Pp*, dated *samvat* 1625, i e , 1567 A D³

(ii) Śrutasāgara (c 15th century A D)⁴ quotes in his Sanskrit commentary⁵ (a) on *Damsana-pāhuda* 9 and *Mokkha-pāhuda* 12 the IV *ES* 61, in the former case, with the introductory phrase *uktam ca Viranandisiṣyena Padmanandinā*, (b) on *D-pāhuda* 30, the I *DA*, 75 with the same introductory phrase, (c) on *Cāritta-p* 21, a verse found at I *DA*, 16 and VI *US*, 10, (d) on *Bodha-p* 10, 23 and 50 (also on *Mokkha-p* 9), the VII *DV*, 22, X *SC*, 31 and IV *ES* 79, in the first two instances with the above introductory phrase, (e) on *Mokkha-p* 55, the IV *ES*, 53⁶ with a remark *tathā cuktam Ekatva-saptatyām* So Śrutasāgara knows very well some *prakaranas* from *Pp* and attributes them (I, IV, VI, VII and X) to Padmanandī, the pupil of Viranandī

(iii) Āśādhara, a voluminous author, whose known dates are A D 1228-1243, quotes in his *svopajñā* commentary on the (*Anagāri*) *Dharmāmṛta*⁷ (a) VIII, 21, 23 and 64, the X *SC*, 1, 18-16-44 and VI *US*, 61, (b) IX, 80-1, 93 and 97, the I *DA*, 41, 42 and 43, once attributing the quotation to Śrī-Padmanandīpāda Thus Āśādhara is acquainted with Padmanandī and some of his *prakaranas*

(iv) Prabhācandra, in his Sanskrit commentary on the *Ratnakarandaka-śrīrākācāra* IV, 18, quotes two verses, Nos 43-44, from VI, *US*, of Padmanandī, and he flourished earlier than (Āśādhara)⁸

(v) Padmaprabha Maladhāridva has written a Sanskrit commentary on the *Niyama-sāra* (ed Bombay 1916) of Kundakunda in which he quotes IV *ES*, 14, 20, 39-40-41 and 79 while explaining the gāthās Nos 55, 96, 100 and 46 (of the *Niyama*) respectively, usually

¹ R MITRA JASB, LII, pp 67-80

² For details about it, see the Hindi Introduction

³ K KASALI WAL *Rāyasthāna ke Jaina Śāstra Phanḍārōkī Grantha-sūci*, II, p 395, Jaipur 1954

⁴ A N UPADHYE *Kārttikeyānuprekṣā* (Agas 1960), Intro p 85

⁵ Māṇikacandra D J Granthamālā, No 17, Bombay 1920

⁶ This verse is absent in the Kannada Ms

⁷ PREMĪ *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, (Bombay 1956), pp 342f

⁸ Māṇikacandra D J Granthamālā, 24, Bombay 1925 its Intro, also pp 53 f. See also the *Ātmānusāsāna*, Intro, Sholapur 1961

mentioning the *ES* It is known now that he died on February 24, 1185 A D ¹ So Padmanandi, the author of *ES*, flourished earlier than Padmaprabha, whose literary activities might be, broadly speaking, assigned to the middle of the 12th century A D.

(vi) Jayasena, in his Sanskrit commentary on the *Pañcāstikāya* (ed. Bombay 1915), gāthā No 162, quotes the verse No 14 of IV *ES* without specifying the source Jayasena's commentary is later than the *Ācārasāra* of Viranandi (who completed the *svopajñā* Kannaḍa commentary on it in 1153 A D) but earlier than the Sanskrit commentary on the *Niyamasāra* by Padmaprabha (died in 1185 A D) who appears to have followed Jayasena's commentary on the *Pravacanasāra* II 46 in his commentary on the *Niyamasāra* 32 ²

Padmanandi is a well-read author, and naturally some of his verses remind us of the thoughts and expressions from earlier works of Kundakunda, Pūjyapāda and others If the subject matter is of a dogmatical nature, this inheritance of ideas has not much chronological value, but if, otherwise, the ideas and expressions have a striking similarity, some influence or inheritance can be presumed

(B) Whatever parallel thoughts and expressions are detected in the works of earlier authors are noted below chronologically, as far as possible

(i) Pūjyapāda's Sanskrit *Bhaktis* are well-known, and Padmanandi's V YB, 6 reminds one of the *Yogi-bhakti* 3, ff, also *kṣepaka* No 2 ³

(ii) The *Bhaktāmara-stotra* (BS) of Mānatunga⁴ is a fine piece of poetry, besides being a devotional hymn, and is often recited by Jaina monks and laymen Some of the verses of Padmanandi remind one of the BS cf XXI KC, 1 and BS, 27 XIII RS, 23-34, XVIII SN, 1-8 (the description of the eight *prātihāryas*) and BS 28-35, compare also XIII RS, 8, 28 and 51 with BS 22, 32 and 24-5.

(iii) Some verses of Padmanandi recall to one's mind similar contexts from the *Kalyānamandira-stotra* (KS)⁵ of Kumudacandra cf XIII RS, 24 with KS 19, also XV ŚD, 31 and XVIII SN 1-2 with KS 2, 25-6

(iv) The *Ātmānuśāsana* (Ā) of Gunabhadra⁶ is a didactic anthology with fine specimens of religious and ascetic poetry in the pattern of Jaina ideology, and with it some of the *prakaranas* of Padmanandi have common topics Now and then Padmanandi's verses resemble those of Ā compare, for instance, I DA, 76 and Ā 15, I DA (also III AP, 34) and Ā 130, III AP, 44 and Ā 34, XII BR, 21 and Ā 111 Gunabhadra is assigned to the middle of the 9th century A D ⁷

¹ A N UPADHYE Padmaprabha and his commentary on the *Niyamasāra* in the *J of the University of Bombay*, XI, 11, 1942, P B DESAI *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs* (Sholapur 1957), pp 159-60

² A N UPADHYE *Pravacanasāra* (Bombay 1935), Intro p 104, K SHASTRI *Jaina Sandeśa*, Śodhāṅka 5, p 181, Mathura 1959 It is found in a new edition of the *Niyamasūtrā* (Songad 1951) that the portion resembling Jayasena's commentary is omitted

³ J PARSHWANATH, Sholapur 1921, pp 192 f, 198

⁴ *Kāvya-mālā*, VII, 4th ed, Bombay 1926, H JACOBI, *Ind Studien*, XIV, p 359 ff, M WINTERNITZ *A History of Indian Lit*, II, p 549

⁵ *Kāvya-mālā* VII, 4th ed, Bombay 1926, H JACOBI, *Ind Studien* XIV, p 376 ff, M WINTERNITZ *A History of Indian Lit*, II, p 551

⁶ N S. Press, Bombay 1905, in the *Sanātana-Jaina-Granthamālā* I

⁷ PRFMI *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, 2nd ed, (Bombay 1956), pp. 138 ff; also Intro to the *Ātmānuśāsana*, Sholapur 1961

(v) Somadeva was an outstanding saint and poet of his age, and his *Yasastilaka* (Y) has influenced many subsequent Sanskrit authors. Padmanandī shows close acquaintance with this religious romance and seems to be indebted to it here and there. Compare, for instance, XV *ŚD*, 15 and Y Uttara, p. 401 (the verse *ekam padam* etc.). Padmanandī's exposition of *dāna* (VII *DV*, 11-12), his arguments to prove the next world (I *DA*, 27) his enumeration of the six duties of laymen (VI, *US*, 7) his reference to the *śāka-piṇḍi* (II *DU*, 7) given to a monk, and his mention of eight *mūla-guṇas* remind us of similar contexts in Y Uttara pp. 403-4, p. 257 (the verse *tadarhajas* etc.), p. 414, p. 408, p. 327 etc. We may compare also VI *US*, 26 with the verse *sarva eva hi* etc., in Y Uttara p. 373. Somadeva completed his Y in Śaka 881, i.e., 959 A.D.

(vi) The *Jñānārṇava* (Jñ) of Śubhacandra contains a good deal of religious poetry especially in the exposition of *anuprekṣā* and *dhyāna*. The III *AP* has some simile common with *amṭya-a*, and some verses of Padmanandī remind one of Jñ. Compare, for instance, III *AP*, 16, 28, 50 with Jñ, *amṭya-a* 30-31 (this is an old simile found also in the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana*, gāthā No. 1720, of Sivārya), *aśarana-a* 8.

(vii) The high ecstatic and spiritual flourishes seen here and there in the poetry of Padmanandī often remind one of the style of Amṛtacandra. The verse No. 8 ff. of XI *NP* can be compared with the *Purusārthasiddhyupāya* (PS)² 4-6. Amṛtacandra flourished earlier than A.D. 998, that being the date of the composition of the *Dharmaratnākara* of Jayasena who has drawn on the PS of Amṛtacandra.³

(viii) In a few contexts, the ideas and expressions of Padmanandī have close resemblance with those in some of the works of Amitagatī (II). Compare, for instance, I *DA* 134 ff. and *Śrāvakācāra*⁴ IV, 46, VI *US*, 29-30 and *Śrā* XIII, 44-48, see also XXI *KC* 11 and *Dvātrīṃśikā*⁵ 5-7, in both the places there is an appeal to Sarasvatī for forgiveness. Amitagatī flourished in the last quarter of the 10th and 1st quarter of the 11th century A.D.⁶

(ix) Padmanandī has repeatedly appealed for the construction of temples and statues of Jina, and one of his verses, VII *DV*, 22, very much resembles Vasunandī's *Śrāvakācāra*⁷ 481-82, with which he appears to share some contexts as well. Vasunandī flourished earlier than Āśādhari.⁸

¹ Kṛṣṇamālā, 70, Pūrva- and Uttara-khanda, Bombay 1903, also K. K. HANDIQUI *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur 1949.

² N. S. Press, Bombay 1905, in the *Sanātana-Jaina-Granthamālā* I.

³ A. N. UPADHYE *Pravacanasāra*, Intro, pp. 100-101, also PARAMANAND *Anekānta*, VIII pp. 173-75.

⁴ Muni Śrī-Anantakīrti D. I. *Granthamālā* 2, Bombay Samvat 1979.

⁵ Mānikacandra D. J. *Granthamālā*, 13, Bombay, 1928.

⁶ A. N. UPADHYE *Paramātma-prakāśa* (Bombay 1937), Intro, p. 37, footnote 3, for more details about Amitagatī see N. PREMI *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihāsa* (2nd ed.), pp. 275 ff. Bombay 1956.

⁷ Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Banaras 1952.

⁸ A. N. UPADHYE 'On the Date of Vasunandī's com. on Mūlācāra' in *Woolner commemorative Volume* (Lahore 1940), pp. 257-60, J. MUKTHAR *Purātana Jaina Vākyaucī* (Sarsawa 1950) Intro pp. 99-101.

Padmanandi does not mention any of these authors or their works by name from which some influence on him is detected on account of similar thoughts or expressions. So the chronological limits based on these similarities are only a matter of probability.

From the above discussion all that can be said is that it is highly probable that Padmanandi is later than Amitagati (last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century A D) and definitely earlier than Padmaprabha (who died in 1185 A D).

(C) There is a Kannada commentary available on the *Ekatvasaptati*¹. It exhibits a good philosophical style, rendered a bit heavy with Sanskrit compounds and long expressions. It contains a number of quotations in Prākṛit and Sanskrit, drawn from the works of Kundakunda and Amṛtacandra. It is written in the third-person style. As mentioned in it, the name of the commentator is (Śrī) Padmanandi-vrati, and the name of the author is Padmanandi-muni, they were contemporaries, no doubt, and one feels like starting with the presumption (a presumption, because the *Pp* does not mention Śubhacandra and Kanakanandi and *ES* and its commentary make no reference to Viranandi, among his Gurus) that they are identical. That is, the author himself has written the Kannada commentary,² and this seems to have been hinted by the phrase *labdhātma-vṛtti*. About

¹ Some 50 verses of this, along with a Sanskrit com., were published in the *Kāvyaśāstram*, ed., by PADMARAJ PANDIT as early as 1893. Besides this Dr UPADHYE has scrutinised three Mss. for this Kannada commentary. (i) It is a palm-leaf Ms. from the Iakṣmīśena Māṭha, Kolhapur. It contains four works, *Iṣṭopadeśa*, *Samādhi-sāṭha*, *Svarūpasambudhāna* and *Ekatvasaptati*, all accompanied by Kannada commentaries of different authors. (ii) There is a Ms. at Arrah, and Pt K. BHUJABALI sent to Dr UPADHYE some notes from it. (iii) Another palm-leaf Ms. was lent to Dr UPADHYE by the late lamented Pt APPASHASTRI of Udiṅgaṇ (Dist. Kolhapur). The following observations are based on these sources.

² This commentary deserves to be well-edited and brought to light. Selecting suitable readings and making minor corrections (though some difficulties of interpretation remain) I am presenting some relevant extracts from it on which these observations are based. The opening portion runs thus: **आनम्यानन्दचैतन्यसहजात्मानमक्षयम् । कर्णाटभाषया वक्ष्ये टीकामेकत्वसप्तते श्रीमद्वैश्वानरविपण्डित-
देवरायासनाशेषभयजनगळो बहिस्तत्त्वशुद्धातस्तत्त्वगळं गौणवृत्तियि शुद्धातस्तत्त्वपरमतत्त्वमं मुख्यवृत्तियि
प्रतिपादिसिबुदुकारणमागि एकत्वसप्ततियं प्रथमोदलोळ् इष्टदेवतानमत्कारमं मंगळार्थमागि भाषिदपर ।
अदावुदेदोडे—चिदन्वैकसद्भावं etc.** Then the concluding portion runs thus:

श्रीपद्मनन्दिप्रतिनिर्मितेयम्, एकत्वसप्तत्यखिलार्थपूर्ति ।

वृत्ती रं निम्बनृपप्रबोधलब्धात्मवृत्तिर्जयतां जगत्याम् ॥

स्वस्ति श्री-शुभचन्द्राद्वान्तदेवाग्रशिष्येण कनकनन्दिपण्डितबाप्रिमविकसितहृत्कुमुदानन्द श्रीमद्-अमृत-
चन्द्रचन्द्रकोन्मीलितनेत्रोत्पलावलोकिताशेषाध्यात्मतत्त्ववेदिना पद्मनन्दिमुनिना श्रीमज्जैनसुधाब्धिवर्धनकर-
पूर्वेन्दुरारतिवीरश्रीपतिनिम्बराजावबोधनाया कृतैकत्वसप्ततेर्वृत्तिरियम्-तज्ज्ञा संप्रवदन्ति संततमिह
श्रीपद्मनन्दिप्रती, कामध्वंसक इत्यलं तदनृतं तेषां वचस्सर्वथा । वाण्या सार्धमहर्निशं रणति संप्रीत्या
तप कामिणीम्, आलिङ्गयमलकीर्तिवारवनितां वाञ्छन् यदा तिष्ठति ॥ श्रीमन्निम्बनृसिंहवृद्धिरभवत्समाम-
भीमारबोदीर्णोदीर्णभयात् पुरत्रयहर स्थाणुर्दिशदन्तिनः । शेषा दन्तिन एव भीतमतयो ज्ञाता यदि स्थीयते,
किं वीरारिन्तपैः पुनस्तव रणे सामन्तचूडामणि (?) ॥ निम्बस्तम्बेरमस्तद्वलवदरिन्तपस्तम्बवीरावमदी,
सहस्रोन्नदानाद्धतभुवनतलत्रयामभावैकरम्य । भद्रो भद्रप्रतीक प्रबलतरकराधातभीताखिलाशपाळ
प्रत्यर्षिसेवामथनपृथुयशोभ्याप्रदिक्चक्रबाल ॥ This last verse is not found in the Arrah Ms.

Padmanandi-muni, it is said in the commentary that he was the chief disciple (*agra-śiṣya*) of Śubhacandra-rāddhāntadeva, that he had received instructions from Kanakanandi Paṇḍita, that he got spiritual enlightenment through the moonlight (of the words) of Amrtacandra, and that he composed this *Ekatvasaptatī* for the instruction of Nimbārāja. Both Padmanandi and Nimbārāja are glorified in the concluding verses.

These details, as they are contemporary, have a great value for fixing the date of the author of *ES*, in particular, and of our author in general. Padmanandi might be having more than one *guru*, so it can be accepted that both Viranandi and Śubhacandra were the *gurus* of Padmanandi. R. NARASIMHACHAR¹ perhaps did not distinguish between the text and the commentary of *ES*, that is why he observed that Nimbā was praised as the crest-jewel of *sāmantas* in the *ES*. His second observation is that Padmanandi was a disciple of Śubhacandra who died in 1123 A.D. This is not unlikely, but there is no positive proof that this very Śubhacandra was the *guru* of Padmanandi. The inscription² describing the glorious personality and recording the death of Śubhacandra has no reference at all, as far as seen, to Padmanandi. The commentary calls Śubhacandra by the designation *rāddhānta-deva* and the inscription also describes him *Jaina-mārga-rāddhānta-payodhi* in addition to *siddhānta-vārimdhi* but that is a slender common point. More definite proof is needed, because, according to the inscription, some other contemporary teachers of the name Śubhacandra³ were there.

Padmanandi was a contemporary of Nimbadeva.⁴ Nimbadeva was a *mahāsāmanta*, a great feudatory, of the Śilāhāra king Gandarāditya, he was a devout lay disciple of Māghanandi (styled as *Kollāpure tīrthakṛt*), he got constructed the Rūpanārāyanabasadi (*rūpa-nārāyana* being the title of his master Gandarāditya) in Kolhapur, and he made a grant on Kartika vā 5, Śaka 1058 (A.D. 1136) of some income (levied from merchants etc., from places round about Kolhapur and Miraj which seem to have been under him) to another temple (built by himself) dedicated to Pārśvanātha in the market site of Kavade-gollā. This may be the same as the present day Mānastambha Basadi near the Śuklavāra gate. Nimbadeva was a devout Jaina. Inscriptions speak of him as the reservoir of many good qualities and a *kalpa-vṛkṣa* to the learned *yatis*. This means that our Padmanandi being a contemporary of Nimbadeva flourished near about A.D. 1136, i.e., in the second quarter of the 12th century A.D.⁵

¹ *FC*, II, SB, Intro, p. 68.

² *Ibidem* No. 117 (43), Intro, p. 82.

³ *Ibidem* No. 380, also A. N. UPADHYE, Śubhacandra and his Prākṛit Grammar, *Annals of the BORI*, XIII, 1, pp. 37 ff.

⁴ Major GRAHAM, *Report on the Principality of Kolhapur*, pp. 357, 465, 466 etc., *EC* II SB, Nos. 64 (40), Intro, pp. 61, 74 and 85, P. B. DESAI, *Jainism in South India* etc. (Sholapur 1957), p. 120.

⁵ This is a partial fulfilment of the promise of a paper on Nimbadeva made by Dr. UPADHYE years back. *Annals of the BORI*, XIII, 1, p. 40. Nimbā Sāmanta was such an outstanding figure of his age that subsequent generations invested his personality almost with a legendary halo. There is available in Kannaḍa a work *Nimba-sāvanta-carite*. In 1931 Prof. UPADHYE came across a Ms. of it in the possession of the late lamented Pt. APPASHASTRI UDAGAONKAR who kindly loaned it to him for some time and Prof. K. G. KUNDANGAR prepared a neat transcript of it which is still with him. Prof. KUNDANGAR wrote also a note on this work in the *Jñāna-jyoti* (Kannaḍa), August 1931. Pt. APPASHASTRI's Ms. is written in A.D. 1736, at Ashta (Dist. Sangli), following a Ms. there in the temple of Ajitanātha. This Ms. was got prepared by the nun (*kumtī*) Śāntimatī, the disciple of Guṇabhadra who seems to have

To conclude, Padmanandi is possibly later than Amṛtagaṭi, definitely earlier than Padmaprabha (who died in 1185 A D) and a contemporary of Nimbadeva (known date 1136 A D.) So we can assign Padmanandi to the 2nd quarter of the 12th century A D

6 PADMANANDI HIS PERSONALITY

After presenting the above study, it is possible now to get a broad outline of the personality of Padmanandi. Padmanandi lived in the then Kannada speaking area and flourished during the middle of the 12th century A D. He claimed among his *gurus*, Vīranandi¹ and Śubhacandra, he received instructions from Kanakanandi-pandita,² and he had studied well the *ādhyātmika* works of Amṛtacandra. He shows extensive learning, and is thoroughly grounded in the works of Kundakunda, Pūjyapāda, Guṇabhadra, Somadeva and others. He has equal mastery on Sanskrit, Prākṛit³ and Kannada. Among his

been initiated in the order (?) by Śrī-Jinasena-Bhaṭṭāraka of Kolhapur. The name of the author of this *Nimba-sāvanta-carite* is Pārsva (= Pārśva) who calls himself a *sakam* and *bhṛtja* (a follower) of Jinasena of the Senigina (i.e., the Bhaṭṭāraka at Kolhapur). The author does not mention when he lived. He is earlier than 1736 A D, that being the date of the Ms. and Prof. KUNDANGAR surmises from the language and style that the author flourished in the 17th century. His work might have been based on some earlier *prabandhas* or persistent traditions. The work has five Samdhis and there are 506 verses in *satpadi* metre. In this work, Nimbadeva is sketched as highly pious and religious, a devout Jaina, a patron of Jaina monks and Ācāryas, and very much loved and liked by the common people. Bijjana of Kalyāna (who followed Jainism) once heard about the great fame of Gaṇḍarādityadeva and marched against him with his army. Nimbadeva, on behalf of his master Gaṇḍarāditya, faced him on the battle field, fought bravely and routed the army, but at last was crushed by the elephant of Bijjana. Bijjana was overpowered by the fear that how many more such brave generals might be there under Gaṇḍarāditya and returned to Kalyāna with his army next day, without further continuing the battle. This is the substance of the biography. Prof. KUNDANGAR has already pointed some historical discrepancy in the above details. The Śilāhīra Gaṇḍarāditya was a contemporary of Chālukya Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla-deva (1076-1126) and his sister Candrikādevī was married to the latter. He ruled from 1110 to 1136. Bijjana's attack against the Chālukyas is to be assigned to 1157, so the march was against the Śilāhīra king Bhoja, and not against Gaṇḍarāditya. Nimba built at least two temples of Jina in Kolhapur, he was a devout disciple of Māghanandi, an outstanding teacher of his times, a spiritualistic text like the *Ekutvasaptati* was explained to him in Kannada, he made arrangements for pious donations, and the concluding verses of the comm. of the *ES* depict him as a great hero. All these must have lingered in public memory in the area round about Kolhapur and Miraj for a long time with the result that a poet like Pārsva was tempted to write a *prabandha* on Nimbadeva. Dr. UPADHYAY is very thankful to his friend Prof. K. G. KUNDANGAR who spared his transcript, which, at his request, he had prepared some thirty years back. There was an idea of publishing it, but the text in this only available Ms. is full of mistakes. When some more Mss. are discovered, it would be possible to present a readable text. The original Ms. is now in the Gurukula Library, Bahubali (Dt. Kolhapur), and Prof. KUNDANGAR has presented his transcript to the Karnatak University Library, Dharwar.

¹ Vīranandi, the author of *Ā ārasāra*, wrote a Kannaḍa vṛitti on it in 1153 A D. See the Intro. to the *Pravacanasāra*, p. 104.

² It is not very clear whether this instruction was oral or through books. Without going into the details about various Kanakanandis, it may be just noted here that Padmanandi had a contemporary Kanakanandi-paṇḍita-deva (mentioned in the Terdal inscription of 1123 A D. see *IA*, XIV, pp. 14-26) who was an *agra-śiṣya* of Māghanandi who had his royal disciple in Nimbadeva (*EC*, II, ŚB No. 64 (40), also Intro. p. 85) for whom the *ES* and its Kannada commentary were composed.

³ Some casual observations may be added here on the Prākṛit dialect used by Padmanandi in his two *prakaranas*, namely, XIII *RS* and XIV *JS*. As a rule, intervocalic *h*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *ṭ* and *d* are dropped leaving behind a vowel, which, if it is *a* or *ā* is substituted by *ya* or *yā* (*śrutī*) irrespective of the preceding vowel. In words like *go-caram*, *hamṭha-gaya-jiviyassa* (XIV 18, 31) the consonants *g*, *c* and *j*

prakaranas, the *Ekatva-saptati* reached great eminence (and was quoted by a younger contemporary like Padmaprabha) not only by its lofty tone of spiritual contents but also by its being composed and commented upon for the instruction of Nimbā Sāmanta, the great feudatory of Śīlāhāras. He calls himself a *vratin*, *sūri*, *muni* and *yatindra* indicating that he was an outstanding monk. He holds the instructions of his *guru* in high esteem (see I 197, II 54, IX, 32, X 26, 49, 4, 59, XXII 6, XXIII 16). He stands for rigorous practice of the basic ascetic virtues (I 40), and as a Digambara he laid great stress on self-restraint (*samyama*) and celibacy. The Vyavahāra point of view is for the less intelligent, and he has insisted on the *niscāya* point of view. He preferred loneliness and shows unlimited zeal for the experience and realization of the Paramātman, the eternal sentient effulgence and bliss. More than once he has hinted that times are bad (VI 6, VII 27 etc.) for high religious ideals and that there is slackness. He repeatedly preaches that the institutions of temple, worship, consecration of images and sustenance of monks are a social obligation for the layman (VII 21). The contemporary environments not being quite favourable for *jñāna* and *cāritra*, he prefers to lay more stress on *bhakti* (IX 30, XXI 6, etc.), almost of the theistic pattern (XX). He is well-read in Jaina dogmatics, and in that frame-work, he has even harnessed the Vedāntic terminology and Bhakti cult (VIII, IX, XX, XXI and XXIII etc.). He is a poet of no mean order, and some of the spiritual contexts are expressed by him with remarkable ease, facility and dignity (XXIII). He is a saint of meditative mood, more inward than outward in his religious approach. There are certain contexts in these *prakaranas* which rank him with Bhartrhari, Gunabhadra, Śubhacandra, Amrtacandra and other religious-didactic poets of the middle ages.

7 Pp—THE SANSKRIT COMMENTARY

The anonymous Sanskrit commentary, printed along with the text in the present edition, is more a prosaic performance, perhaps of a novice (having Hindī as his mother tongue) who has put down his jottings in his attempt to understand the text of *Pp*, than a studied exposition explaining the text in a thorough manner. It is seen that minor details are explained with synonyms and real difficulties are passed over silently, and in some places even the explanations are far from satisfactory.

The Sanskrit expression of the commentary is loose about gender and agreement and mixed with Hindī sentences and words in some places (IV 12 etc.). We come across

are not necessarily intervocalic. Then intervocalic *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph* and *bh* are changed to *h*. Only *n* is used initially, medially, and in *n* conjunct group. There are no instances here of intervocalic *t* changing to *d* or of *d* retained. The 3rd p. sing. terminations of the present and imperative are respectively *-i* and *-u* (and nowhere *-di* and *-du*). Gerund is seen with *-ūna*. Sometimes the Ātmanepada of the Sanskrit is inherited and strong Sanskrit influence is seen in forms and compound expressions. For *-a* nouns Abl. terminations are *-hi* in sing. and *-hinto* in pl., Loc. terminations are *-e* and *-mmi* in sing. Some Desī words and roots like *phaga*, *nesara* and *joḍa* (XIII 50, 60 and 51) are used. On the whole, the dialect should be called Māhārāṣṭri with *va-śruti*, common to Jaina Mss. By way of contrast, it may also be noted that in the dialect of the *Jambūdiva-pannatti-samguho* (Sholapur 1958) of Padmanandi there is a greater tendency towards softening of *t* to *d* and of retaining *d*, and this affects the declensional and verbal forms in various ways. Then the dialect of the *Dhammarasāyanam* (Bombay 1922) of Padmanandi comes nearer that of the two *prakaranas*, but it shows forms like *dhammādo* (11), *khādanti* (34) *sigādāe* (43), *jādo* (104), *dhuda-kammā* (189) etc., which would be foreign in style in the hymns of Padmanandi. Some of these texts are not critically edited, so no conclusion can be reached at present.

many forms, obviously wrong but often reflecting the pattern of the New Indo-Aryan for instance, *aṣṭāvimsatayah* for *aṣṭāvimsatih*, *sarvam dharmam* for *sarvo dharmah* (I 38), *kana-tiṣṭhanena* (I 67), *durjayah durjītah* (I 99), *stūyamānesu stutyamāneṣu* (I 106), *vathinena prāpyate* (I 166) *ka āścaryah* for *kim āścaryam* (III 2), *pramuktvā* for *pramucya* (XIII 39), etc His Sanskrit renderings of Prākṛit words are often incorrect for illustration, *amhārīsāna mama sadrśānām*, *hayaicchiyā hrdayasthūtā* (XIII 5), *jyāna yāvātām* (Ibid 21), *cciya arcya pūjya* (Ibid 19, 33), etc This being the only available commentary it was thought advisable to put it in print along with the text

१ पद्मनन्दि - पञ्चविंशति की प्रतियोंका परिचय

हस्तलिखित प्रतियाँ—प्रस्तुत संस्करण निम्न हस्तलिखित प्रतियोंके आधारसे तैयार किया गया है।

१ 'क' प्रति—यह संस्कृत टीकासे युक्त प्रति स्थानीय आबिकाश्रमकी संचालिका श्री ब्र. सुमतीबाई गृह्यके संग्रह की है जो सम्भवतः भट्टारक श्री लक्ष्मीसेनजी कोल्हापुरकी हस्तलिखित प्रतिपरसे तैयार की गई थी। प्रस्तुत संस्करणके लिये प्रथम कापी इसी परसे तैयार की गई थी।

२ 'श' प्रति—यह प्रति स्थानीय विद्वान् श्री पं. जिनदासजी शास्त्रीकी है। इसकी लंबाई १३ इंच और चौड़ाई ५-१/२ इंच है। पत्रसंख्या १-१७८ है। इसके प्रत्येक पत्रमें एक ओर लगभग १०-११ पक्तियाँ और प्रति पंक्तिमें लगभग ४४-४५ अक्षर हैं। इसमें मूल श्लोक लाल स्याहीसे तथा संस्कृत टीका काली स्याहीसे लिखी गई है। इस प्रतिमें कहीं कहीं पीछेसे किसीके द्वारा सशोधन किया गया है। इससे उसका मूल पाठ इतना भ्रष्ट हो गया है कि वह अपने यथार्थ स्वरूपमें पढ़ा भी नहीं जाता है। इसमें ग्रन्थका प्रारम्भ ॥ वं नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ इस मंगलवाक्यसे किया गया है। अन्तमें सामाप्तिसूचक निम्न वाक्य है—

॥ इति ब्रह्मचर्याष्टकं ॥ इति श्रीमत्पद्मनन्दाचार्यविरचिता पद्मनन्दिपञ्चविंशति ॥ श्रीबीतरागार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीजिनाय नमः ॥

प्रतिके प्रारम्भमें उसके दानका उल्लेख निम्न प्रकारसे किया गया है—आ पद्मनन्दिपञ्चविंशति सटीक दोशी रतनबाई कोम नेमचंद न्याहालचंद ए आबक पासू गोपाल फडकुलेन दान कर्युं छे सबत् १९५१ फागुण वद्य ११ गुरुवार।

३ 'अ' प्रति—यह प्रति सम्भवतः स्व. श्री पं. नाथूरामजी प्रेमी बम्बई की रही है। इसकी लंबाई ११-१/२ और चौड़ाई ५-१/२ इंच है। पत्रसंख्या १-१७५ है। इसके प्रत्येक पत्रमें एक ओर १२ पक्तियाँ और प्रतिपंक्तिमें ३५-३८ अक्षर हैं। ग्रन्थका प्रारम्भ ॥ ॐ नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ इस वाक्यसे किया गया है। अन्तिम समाप्तिसूचक वाक्य है—

ब्रह्मचर्याष्टकं समाप्त इति पद्मनन्दिपञ्चविंशतिविरचितं संपूर्णं ॥

इसमें 'युवतिसगविवर्जनमष्टकं' आदी इस अन्तिम श्लोक और उसकी टीकाको किसी दूसरे लेखकके द्वारा छोटे अक्षरोंमें १७५वें पत्रके नीचे लिखा गया है। इससे पूर्वके श्लोकका 'मुक्तवतः कुशलं न अस्ति' इतना टीकांश भी यहाँपर लिखा गया है। उपर्युक्त समाप्तिसूचक वाक्य भी यहींपर लिखा उपलब्ध होता है। इससे यह अनुमान होता है कि सम्भवतः उसका अन्तिम पत्र नष्ट हो गया

था और इसीलिये उपर्युक्त अन्तिम अंशको किसीने दूसरी प्रतिके आधारसे १७५५वे पत्रके नीचे लिख दिया है। आश्चर्य नहीं जो उस अन्तिम पत्रपर लेखकके नाम, स्थान और लेखनकालका भी निर्देश रहा हो। इस प्रतिका कागज इतना जीर्ण शीर्ण हो गया है कि उसके पत्रको उठाना और रखना भी कठिन हो गया है। वैसे तो इसके प्रायः सब ही पत्र कुछ न कुछ खडित हैं, फिर भी ४० से १२६ पत्र त बहुत त्रटित हुए हैं। इसीलिये पाठभेद देनेमें उसका बहुत कम उपयोग हो सका है।

४ 'ब' प्रति—इस प्रतिमें ग्रन्थका मूल भाग मात्र है, संस्कृत टीका नहीं है। यह ऐ, पन्नालाल सरस्वती भवन बम्बईसे प्राप्त हुई थी जो यहा बहुत थोड़े समय रह सकी है। उसका उपयोग पाठभेदोंमें कचित् ही किया जा सका है।

५ 'च' प्रति—यह प्रति सघके ही पुस्तकालयकी है। इसमें मूल श्लोकोंके साथ हिन्दी (द्वदारी) वचनिका है। सगुन टीका इसमें नहीं है। इसकी लंबाई—चौड़ाई १३×७ है। पत्र सख्या १—२७९ है। इसके प्रत्येक पत्रमें एक ओर १२ पंक्तियाँ और प्रतिपंक्तिमें ४०-४४ अक्षर हैं। लिपि सुन्दर व सुवाच्य है। इसका प्रारम्भ इस प्रकार है—॥६०॥ ३० नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ अथ पद्मनन्दपंचविंशतिका ग्रन्थकी मूल श्लोकनिका अर्थसहित वचनिका लिखिये है ॥ अन्तमें—॥ इति श्री पद्मनदिमुनिगजनिर्वाचित-पद्मनदिपंचविंशतिका वचनिका समाप्त ॥ इस वाक्यको लिखकर प्रतिके लेखनकालका उल्लेख इस प्रकार किया गया है—मिति भादौ वदि ॥ ३ ॥ बुधवासरे ॥ संवत् ॥ १९॥ २९॥ मुहाम चद्रागुमिभ्ये ॥ सुभ भवतु संगलं ददातु ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

वचनिकाके अन्तमें २५ चौपाई छन्दोंमें उसके लिखने आदिका परिचय इस प्रकार कराया गया है—द्वढाहर देशमें जयपुर नगर है। उसमें राममिहाराजा प्रजाका पालन करता था। वहा सागानेर बजारमें खिन्दूकाका मन्दिर है। वहां साधर्म्य जन आकर धर्मचरचा किया करते थे। पद्मनन्दपञ्च-विंशतिके अर्थको सुनकर उनके मनमें सर्वसाधारणके हितकी दृष्टिसे वचनिकाका भाव उदित हुआ। इसके लिये उन सबने ज्ञानचन्दके पुत्र जौहरीलालसे कहा। तदनुसार उन्होंने उसे मूल वाक्योंको सुधार कर लिखा और वचनिका लिखना प्रारम्भ कर दी। किन्तु 'सिद्धस्तुति' तक वचनिका लिखनेके पश्चात् उनका देहावसान हो गया। तब पंचोंके आग्रहसे उसे हरिचन्दके पुत्र मन्नालालने पूरा किया। इस प्रकार वचनिका लिखनेका निमित्त बतलाकर आगे उसके पश्चिम अधिकारोंका चौपाई छन्दोंमें ही निर्देश किया गया है। यह देश वचनिका १९१५वें सालमें मृगशिर कृष्णा ५ गुरुवारको पूर्ण हुई।

इसमें प्रथमतः मूल श्लोकको लिखकर उसका शब्दार्थ लिखा गया है, और तत्पश्चात् भावार्थ लिखा गया है। भावार्थमें कई स्थानोपर ग्रन्थान्तरोके श्लोक व गाथाओं आदिको भी उद्धृत किया गया है।

मुद्रित प्रतियाँ—१ प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थका एक संस्करण श्री गांधी महालचन्द वस्तूरचन्दजी धारशिवके द्वारा शक स १८२० में प्रकाशित किया गया था। इसमें मूल श्लोकके बाद उसका मराठी पद्यानुवाद, फिर सक्षिप्त मराठी अर्थ और तत्पश्चात् सक्षिप्त हिन्दी (हिन्दुस्थानी) अर्थ भी दिया गया है। हिन्दी अर्थ प्रायः मराठी अर्थका शब्दश अनुवाद प्रतीत होता है। अर्थमें मात्र भावपर ही दृष्टि रखी गई है।

२ दूसरा संस्करण श्री प गजाधरलालजी न्यायशास्त्रीकी हिन्दी टीकाके साथ 'भारती भवन' बनारससे सन् १९१४ में प्रकाशित हुआ है। यह हिन्दी टीका प्रायः पूर्वोक्त (५ 'च' प्रति) हिन्दी वचनिकाका अनुकरण करती है।

इन दो संस्करणोंके अतिरिक्त अन्य भी संस्करण प्रकाशित हुए हैं या नहीं, यह हमें ज्ञात नहीं है।

PAÑCASTŪPĀNVA YA *

The Jaina monks often associate themselves with one or the other Samgha, Gana Gaccha, Anvaya, Sambhoga, Śākhā, Valaya etc. What these terms exactly meant, how these groups were mutually related, why particular names were given to them, etc., are matters which still await critical investigation.¹ There is no doubt that these divisions primarily refer to the ascetic community, and only by implication, the lay followers came to be associated with them. The great teacher Virasena, who finished his *Dhavalā* commentary in Śaka 738, i.e., 816 A.D., assigns himself to the Pañcastūpānvaya.² An attempt is made in this paper to put together all that we know about this *anvaya* and see what historical light can be shed on this monastic branch of Jaina saints.

The Paharpur (Rajshahi Dist., Bengal) Copper-plate Inscription³ of the Gupta Year 159 (=479 A.D.) mentions Pañcastūpa-nikāya twice in the following passage⁴

युष्माकमिहाधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्वि-दीनारिक्य-कुल्य-वापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्या-क्षयनीवी-समुदयबाह्या-प्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो (S*) नुवृत्तस्तदर्थेथानेनैव क्रमेणावयोस्सकाशादीनारत्रयमुपसंग्रहययो (*) स्वपुण्यात्यायनाय वटगोहाल्यामवास्याङ्का शिक-पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक-निमन्थ-भ्रमणाचार्य-गुहनन्दि शिष्य-प्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-विहारे भगवतामर्हतां गन्ध-धूप-सुमनो-दीपाद्यन्तलवाटकनिमित्तञ्च अ(त *) एव वटगो-हालीतो वास्तु-द्रोणवापमभ्यर्द्धञ्जम्बु-देवप्रावेश्यपृष्ठिमपोत्तके क्षेत्रे द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं गोषाटपुञ्जाद्द्रोण-वापचतुष्टयम् मूलनागिरट्प्रावेश्य-नित्यगोहालीत अर्द्धत्रिकद्रोणवाप नित्येवमभ्यर्द्ध क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमक्षय-नीव्या दातुमि [ति] [*] यत प्रथमपुस्तपाल दिवाकरनन्दि-पुस्तपालधृतिविष्णु-विरोचन-रामदास-हरिदास-शशिनन्दि[सु]प्रभ-मनुद[त्ताना]मवधारण यावधृतम् अस्त्यस्मदधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्वि दीनारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन शाश्वत्कालोपभोग्या क्षयनीवी-समुदय-बाह्याप्रतिकर-[खिल*] क्षेत्रवास्तुविक्रयो (S*) नुवृत्तस्तद्यष्मा म्त्रम्हण-नाथशर्मा एतद्भार्या रामी च पलाशाट्-पार्श्विक-वटगोहाली-स्था [यि] [काशि*] क-पञ्चस्तूप-कुल-निकायिक-आचार्य-निमन्थ-गुहनन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-सद्विहारे अरहतां गन्ध [धूपा] उपयोगाय [तलवा] टक-निमित्तञ्च तत्रैव वटगोहाल्या वास्तु-द्रोणवापमभ्यर्द्ध क्षेत्रञ्जम्बुदेव-प्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं गोषाटपुञ्जा-द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं मूलनागिरट्-प्रावेश्य-नित्यगोहालीतो द्रोणवाप-द्वयमाढव-[प-ट्ट] याधिकामेभ्येवमभ्यर्द्ध क्षेत्रकुल्यवापमप्रार्थयते (S*) न न कश्चिद्विरोध गुणस्तु यत्परम-भट्टारक ादानमर्थोपचयो धर्म-षड्भाग्यायनञ्च भवति [!*]

* This is published in the Karnataka Historical Review, VII, 1-2, Dharwar 1949

¹ Ample material for such a study is available from epigraphic and literary sources. See A. Gujrinot *Repertoire Deepigraphie Jaina*, Paris 1908, Introduction pp 35-68, A. N. UPADHYE *Yāpaniya Samgha Journal of the University of Bombay*, I vi May 1933

² The *Saṅghandāgama*, Vol I, Intro, pp 11, 36 etc., Amraoti 1939

³ This is issued by the Āyuktakas of Pundravardhana, the headquarters of the province, to be identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogra Dist., Bengal

⁴ K. N. DIXIT *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp ff. The text (lines 4-17) is faithfully copied here from *Select Inscriptions*, Vol I, pp 346-49

Here we have a reference to a *vrhāra* (at Vatagohālī) presided over by pupils and grand-pupils of Guhanandi, styled as Nigrantha-śramanācārya or ācārya, of the Pañcastūpa (kula) nikāya, perhaps belonging to Kāśī or Banaras. Pañcastūpa, it is suggested, is the name of a locality, mod. Pañchtūpī. The reading *Kāśika* is uncertain, and consequently the association of P -nikāya with Banaras is just a matter of conjecture.

Then at Śravana Belgol,¹ there is a mutilated inscription which is assigned to C Śaka 572 (+78=650 A D). It runs thus

ममास्तूपान्व सकले गद्गुरु ।
 ख्यातो वृषभनन्दीति तपोज्ञानाब्धिपारग ॥
 अन्तेवासी च तस्यासीदुपवासपरो गुरु ।
 विद्या-सलिल-निर्द्धृत शेमुषी को जितेन्द्रियः ॥
 स ततपो तपसैर्योग-प्रभावोऽस्य तु ।
 वन्द्योऽनाहित-कामनो निरुपम ख्यात्या स ना ॥
 द्रष्टुं ज्ञानविलोचनेन महता स्वायुष्यमेवं पुन ।
 पू गृहं गुरुरसौ यो स्थित वश ॥
 कटवप्त्र-शैल-शिखरे सन्यस्य शास्त्रक्रमात् ।
 ध्यान दा मणिमुखे प्रक्षिप्य कर्मैन्धनं ॥
 दिव्य-सुखं प्रशस्तक-धिया सम्प्राप्य सर्वेश्वर- ।
 ज्ञानं न्तमिदं किमत्र तपसा सर्व सुखं प्राप्यत ॥

There is no doubt that *mamāstūpānva* is a mistaken reading of Pañcastūpānvaya due to partly mutilated letters.

Later in his *Dhavalā*,² composed in 816 A D, Virasena refers to the Pañcastūpānvaya in this manner

अज्जज्जणदिसिसेणुज्जुव-कम्मस्स चदसेणस्स ।
 तह णत्तवेण पंचत्थूहणय-भाणुणा मुणिणा ॥
 सिद्धंतच्छंदजोइसवायरणपमाणसत्थणिवुणेण ।
 भट्टारण टीका लिहिएसा वीरसेणेण ॥

Then Jinasena, the pupil of Virasena, refers to the Pañcastūpānvaya of his *guru* in the *praśasti* of *Jayadhavalā*,³ finished in Śaka 759 (+78=837 A D)

यस्तपोहीमकिरणैर्भङ्ग्याभोजानि बोधयन् ॥
 व्यद्योतिष्ठ मुनीनेन पञ्चस्तूपान्वयाम्बरे ॥ २५ ॥

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica* II No 75, pp 38 (Text), 40-41 (Translation) etc. *Upavāsapara* is an adjective and not a proper name.

² The *Śaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Amraoti 1939, Intro pp 35-36. PREMI *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, pp 497 etc.

³ Ibidem, p 37. *Kaśyapānuḍa*, Vol I, Intro pp 69-70.

प्रक्षिप्यश्चन्द्रसेनस्य च शिष्योऽप्यार्थनन्दिनाम् ।
 कुलं गणं च सत्तानं स्तुगुणैरुदजिष्ण्वत् ॥ २६ ॥
 तस्य शिष्योऽभवच्छ्रीमान् जिनसेन समिद्धधीः ।
 अविध्वापि यत्कर्णो विद्धौ ज्ञानशलाकया ॥ २७ ॥

In this connection it is necessary to note that Gunabhadra who finished the *Mahā-purāṇa*¹ (some time before Śaka 820, i.e., 898 A.D., in which year it was glorified by Lokasena), left incomplete by his teacher Jinasena, makes no reference to Pañcastūpānvaya, but specifically puts both Virasena and Jinasena under Senānvaya of the Mūlasamgha

मूलसंघवाराशौ मणीनामिव सर्षिषाम् ।
 महापुरुषरत्नानां स्थानं सेनान्वयोऽजनि ॥ २ ॥
 तत्र वित्रासिताशेषप्रवादिमद्वारण ।
 वीरसेनाप्रणीर्वीरसेनभट्टारको बभौ ॥ ३ ॥
 अभवदिव हिमाद्रेदेवसिन्धुप्रवाहो
 ध्वनिरिव सकलज्ञात्सर्वशास्त्रैकमूर्तिः
 उदयगिरितटाद्वा भाङ्करो भासमानो
 मुनिरनु जिनसेनो वीरसेनादमुष्मात् ॥ ८ ॥

Indranandi in his *Śrutāvatāra*,² which contains some bits of information about the ascetic organisation, throws some interesting light on the Pañcastūpānvaya

(a) Arhadbali of Pundravardhana³ called some monks coming from Pañcastūpya-nivāsa by names ending in -sena and others in -bhadra

पञ्चस्तूप्यनिवासादुपगता येऽनगारिणस्तेषु ।
 काश्चित्सेनामित्यान् काँश्चिद् भद्राभिधानकरोत् ॥

(b) Indranandi quotes the following verse as *uktam ca*, perhaps it is a traditionally memorised verse on which his view is based

आयातौ नन्दिवीरो प्रकटगिरिगुहावासतोऽशोकवाटाद्
 देवाश्चन्योऽपरादिर्जित इति यतिपौ सेनभद्राङ्गयौ च ॥
 पञ्चस्तूप्यात् सगुप्तो गणधरवृषभ शास्त्रमल्लीवृक्षमूलात्
 निर्यातौ सिंहचन्द्रौ प्रथितगुणगणो केसरात्खण्डपूर्वात् ॥ ९६ ॥

¹ *Uttarapurana*, pp 754-55, Calcutta Samvat 1975

² See *Tattvānuśāsanādisamgrahah* in the Mānikachand Digambara Jaina Granthamālā No 13, pp 74-89, Bombay Samvat 1975

³ It is interesting to note that the earliest reference to Pañcastūpa line of teachers belongs to the same eastern part of India to which Arhadbali belonged. Arhadbali was born in Pundravardhana, the same headquarters from which the Paharpur record was issued

(c) Indranandī also notes another tradition (I think, the older) on the same topic

अन्ये जगुर्गुह्या विनिर्गता नन्दिनो महात्मानः ।

देवाश्चाशोकवनात् पञ्चस्तूप्यास्ततः सेन ॥ ९७ ॥

(d) Lastly, there is a slightly cryptic verse which mentions Pañcastūpya

पञ्चस्तूप्यास्तु सेनाना वीराणां शास्त्रमलीद्रुम ।

खण्डवेसरनामा च भद्र सिंहोऽस्य समतः ॥ १०० ॥

Indranandī is tentatively assigned to Samvat 11th century, the date is not final, but I have no doubt that he is later than Jināsena and perhaps also Gunabhadra. From his verses one point is clear, namely, the tradition is struggling to connect monks with name-endings Sena and Bhadra with the Pañcastūpa

Thus, as far as we know, the Paharpur record contains the earliest and the *Śrutāvatāra* the latest reference to the Pañcastūpa line of monks. This *anvaya* perhaps hailed from the North where it was well known by 478 A.D. and of which the earliest known monk is Guhanandī. Then by about the middle of the 7th century A.D., the monks of this *anvaya* were found in the South, and a pupil of Vrsabhanandī of this line died at Śravana Belgol by observing Sallekhanā. Then in 816 A.D., Virāsena describes himself as the son of Pañcastūpānvaya, his teacher was Āryanandī and his grand teacher was Candrasena. The available references show that after Virāsena the title of this *anvaya*, i.e., Pañcastūpānvaya, was superseded by Senānvaya, and we see how Gunabhadra includes not only Jināsena but also Virāsena under Senānvaya. It is not surprising, therefore, that after Gunabhadra, Indranandī gives not only Sena but also Bhadra as name-ending of the monks of the Pañcastūpānvaya. It may be noted, however, that the earlier records show that the names of teachers of the Pañcastūpānvaya ended in -nandī (Guhanandī etc.)

The *Dhavalā* commentary clearly shows that Virāsena was highly gifted with the knowledge of Siddhānta, and he was a pupil of Āryanandī. We know how the Siddhānta knowledge was imparted to two pupils from the South by Dharmasena who was staying at Girnar. His name ends in *senā*, but we do not get a specific mention of his *anvaya*. In inheriting and propounding the Siddhānta knowledge the monks of the Pañcastūpānvaya appear to have played an important role.

The earliest known epigraphic reference to the Senagana is found in the Mulgund Inscription of 903 A.D.,¹ so we may not be quite wrong in supposing that with Jināsena the name of Senānvaya or Senagana (instead of Pañcastūpānvaya) became more prominent. After Indranandī, no one appears to have taken any cognizance of Pañcastūpānvaya.

It is difficult to offer any exact interpretation of Pañcastūpānvaya. It is quite likely that it is derived from a locality possessing five Stūpas, but that is only a conjecture.² A village Pāñchthūpī is already referred to above. If that is accepted, we will have to

¹ *Repertoire d'épigraphie Jaina*, No. 127, pp. 106-107

² See my earlier Remarks on this topic in the *Bṛhat-kathakosa* Intro. p. 90, Notes pp. 378-79 cf. page 78 of this compendium

admit that this *anvaya* originated in Bengal, and the monks¹ of this line travelled as far as Śravana Belgola carrying the torch of Siddhānta knowledge and proving the severity of their penances.²

¹ The names of the monks of the Pañcastūpānvaya, known to us, are as below chronologically: Guhanandi, Vṛṣabhanandi, Candrasera, Āryanandi and Vinasena. Jinasena, the pupil of Virasena, does not specifically mention his *anvaya* while Gunabhadra, the pupil of Jinasera assigns his teacher and grand teacher to Senānvaya. So in our enumeration we have to stop with Virasena.

² Major portion of this paper was submitted to the Prākṛit and Jainism Section of the All India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga. A Hindi draft of it I contributed to the Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara XVI, 1, pp. 1-6, Arrah 1949.

ASAGA AND HIS WORKS*

The 2500th Anniversary of the Nirvāna of Bhagavān Mahāvira is being celebrated soon, all over the world, as a mark of respect to that great personality whose doctrines of Ahimsā, Anekānta and Aparigraha are a panacea for the baser tendencies of Violence, Intolerance and excessive Greed at the levels of the individual, society or nation. The Jaina Samskrit Samrakshaka Sangha, Sholapur, founded by the late Br Jivarāj Gautamchandaji has rendered, during the last twenty-five years, significant service to the cause of Jaina literature, embodying the teachings of Mahāvira and his great disciples of yore, through numerous publications in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhramśa, Hindī, Marāṭhī, Kannada and English. It is but natural that the authorities of this Granthamālā planned to publish, on the occasion of this celebration, the biography of Mahāvira, namely, the Vardhamāna-carita of Asaga along with Hindī translation. That is how this edition of the Vardhamāna-carita of Asaga is being placed in the hands of readers.

The Mss of the Mahāvira-caritra (*MC*), or Vardhamāna-caritra (*VC*) or- purāna (*VP*) or Sammatī-caritra (*SC*) of Asaga are reported to exist in Arrah, Karanja, Vaianga, Humch, Idar, Bombay, Mysore, Poona, Svadi, Moodbidri, Madras, Adyar and other places. Those of his Śāntināthapurāna (*ŚP*) are reported to exist in Poona, Imbdi, Ajmer, Bombay and Bodlean Library in U K. It is reported that the Bodlean Library has also an abridgement of it in twelve chapters, the original work having sixteen cantos¹. The distribution of the Mss of these works of Asaga shows their wide circulation. There might be some Mss, here and there, in private collections as well.

So far no Sanskrit commentary on Asaga's poems has come to light. Shri V B Lokapur² has come across a palm-leaf Ms containing a Kannada Vyākhyāna on the Vardhamānapurāna. It gives the Anvaya and meaning in Kannada. All this would enable one to understand the text. The concluding passage gives some information about the commentator. His name is Vije (=Vijaya) rāja, he belonged to the Vasistha-gotra, he was a resident of Belagula (the same as Śravana-B), and he completed it in Śaka 1402, i.e., A.D. 1480. Shri Lokapur has not noted where the Ms exists. It is better that we know more about it. I have been informed that there is a Ms of the Vardhamāna-purāna with a Kannada commentary in the Upādhyāya family of Halagi (Dt. Belgaum). My inquiry has not been so far fruitful.

A Hindī translation of *VP* was prepared by Pt. Khubchand Shastri and also published some years back (Surat, 1917). Both *VP* and *ŚP* were edited and translated into Marāṭhī by Pt. J. P. Phadakule and published by the late Raoji Sakhārām Doshi from Sholapur in 1931 and 1935 respectively. The former was in book size, but the latter, in Pothi size with loose sheets.

* This essay was contributed as a 'General Editorial' to the Edition of the Vardhamāna-carita ed. by Pandit Pannalal-sūritvācārva and Published in the Jivarāj Jaina Granthamālā, Sholapur 1973.

¹ H. D. VELANKAR. Jinaratna-kosa, Poona, 1940, pp. 336, 342, 381.

² Jayanti, July, 1955, page 48.

Asaga gives some information about himself in both these works at their end. It is better that the verses are reproduced here, mainly based on the printed editions for ready reference, because the translators have not taken them identically (M P XVIII 102-5)

कृतं महावीरचरित्रमेव । नमया परस्वप्रतिबोधनार्थम् ।
 सप्तधाधिकत्रिंशद्भवप्रबन्धं । पुरुरवाद्यन्तिमं वीरनाथम् ॥ १०२ ॥
 वर्धमानचरित्रं यं प्रत्यारब्ध्याति शृणोति च ।
 तस्येहपरलोक्षस्य शौल्यं सजायतेतराम् ॥ १०३ ॥^१
 संवत्सरे दशमवोत्तरवर्षयुक्ते
 भावादिकीर्तिमुनिनायकपादमूले ।
 मौद्गल्यपर्वतनिवासवनस्थसंपत्-^२
 सञ्छाविकाप्रजनिते सति वा ममत्वे ॥ १०४ ॥
 विधा मया प्रपठतेत्यसगाह्वयेन
 श्रीनाथराज्यमखिलं जनतोपकारि ।
 प्राप्यैव चोडविषये विरलानगर्या
 ग्रन्थाष्टकं च समकारि जिनोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०५ ॥

Pts Jinadasa and Pannalal differ in grouping these verses and also in translating them. In my opinion the verse No. 103 is either misplaced, or a later addition. So I leave that verse altogether. It just mentions the fruit of propounding and hearing this *MC*, in this and in the next world. I would group together verses Nos. 102 and 104, and take 105 independently. To render them freely. With a view to enlightening myself and others, this Mahāvīra-carita, in which are described thirty-seven Bhavas beginning with that of Purūrava and ending with that of Vīranātha, was composed by me (in Samvatsara 910 at the feet of the great monk Bhāvakīrti, liking for or interest (*mamatva*) in its being evinced by a pious Śrāvīkā, Sampat by name, who dwelt on the mount Maudgalya in a park (or who dwelt in a settlement Vana by name on the mount Maudgalya). Various branches of learning were studied by me, Asaga by name. And having reached (*prāpya*) the kingdom of Śrīnātha, which was beneficial to all the people, eight works dealing with Jainism or incorporating the instructions of Jina, were composed by me in the town of Viralā (also read a Varalā or Dharalā) in the Coda territory.

In this context it is interesting to note that the concluding verses are not identical in all the Mss. of the *VC*. Peterson, in his Report for 1886-92, gives the concluding portion of the *VC* from a Ms. dated Samvat 1679. After the colophon *ity Asaga-kṛte* etc., of the 18th Sarga, there are the following verses ³

¹ In the printed text is a misprint that the word *amustup* which should have been the title for the stanza has got mixed up in the verse.

² A reading *vratastha* for *vanstha* would upset the metre. A reading like this is also available.

³ They are quoted in full below, 1-4. These common verses in the *Prāśastis* indicate that one and the same Asaga is the author of *VC* and *ŚP*.

मुनिचरणरजोमि etc as in *SP*

तनुमपि तनुतां etc as in *SP*

भक्तिं परां etc as in *SP*

पुत्रस्तयोरसग etc as in *SP*

सद्वृत्तं दधता स्वभावमृदुना निःश्रेयसप्रार्थिना
साधूना हृदयोपमेन शुचिना संप्रेरितः प्रेयसा ।
एतत्सादरमार्यनन्दिगुरुणा सिद्धये व्यघातासग
कीर्त्युत्कीर्तनमात्रचारुचरितं श्रीसन्मते सन्मते ॥
इति वर्धमानचरितं समाप्तम् ।

The first four verses give the biographical details about Asaga, and they are noted below from the *SP*. The fifth verse gives some additional information that Asaga completed the *MC* or *Sanmati-carita* (as titled here) being encouraged by Āryanandi-guru whose great virtues are mentioned by him in details

In the *Śāntipurāṇa* more biographical details are available. The relevant verses may be quoted here

मुनिचरणरजोमि सर्वदाभूत [पूत] धात्र्यां प्रणतिसमयलभ्रे पावनीभूतमूर्धा ।
उपशम इव मूर्ते शुद्धसम्यक्त्वयुक्त पटुमतिरिति नाम्ना विभूत आबकोभूत ॥ १ ॥
तनुमपि तनुतां य सर्वपर्वोपवासैस्तनुमनुपमधी स्म प्रापयन् सचिनोति ।
सततमपि विभूतिं भूयसीमन्नदान प्रभृतिभिरुपुण्य कुन्दशुभ्रं यशश्च ॥ २ ॥
भक्तिं परामविरतं सभपक्षपाता । दातव्रती मुनिनिकायचतुष्टये ऽपि ।
वैरेतिरित्यनुपमा^१ भुवि तस्य भार्या । सम्यक्त्वशुद्धिरिव [मूर्तिमती] पराभूत ॥ ३ ॥
पुत्रस्तयोरसग इत्यवदातकीर्त्योरासीन्मनीषिनिबद्धप्रमुखस्य शिष्य ।
चन्द्रांशुशुभ्रयशसो भुवि नागनन्द्याचार्यस्य शब्दसमयार्णवपारगस्य ॥ ४ ॥
तस्याभवद् भव्यजनस्य सेव्य सखा जिनापो^२ जिनधर्मसक्त ।
ख्यातोऽपि शौर्यात् परलोकभीरुर्द्विजादिनाथोऽपि विपक्षपात ॥ ५ ॥
व्याख्यानशीलत्वमवेक्ष्य तस्य भट्टां पुराणेषु च पुण्यबुद्धेः ।
कवित्वहीनोऽपि गुरौ निबन्धे^३ तस्मिन्धासीदसगः प्रबन्धम् ॥ ६ ॥
चरितं विश्रुत्य सन्मतीयं मदलंकारविचित्रवृत्तबन्धम् ।
स पुराणमिदं व्यधत्त शान्तेरसग साधुजनप्रमोहशान्त्यै^४ ॥ ७ ॥

^१ Also Veritti

^२ Jinnappa is quite a common name among the Jains even today in some parts of Karnataka

^३ Also we have to read *guror nibandhe*

^४ Years back there appeared a note on these *Prasastis*, possibly written by the late Pt Jugal Kishorji, *Jaina Hitāishī*, XV, pp 336 f. It is necessary that some more *Mss* will have to be consulted to understand the presence of these *Prasastis*

There was a famous Śrāvaka Patumati by name. He always paid respects to monks by touching his head to the ground which was rendered pure by the dust from the feet of the monks. He was an embodiment of mild passions. He was endowed with pure Right Faith. He was a man of intelligence. His body was lean, and he rendered it all the more lean by observing fasts on *Parva* days. He earned great dignity thereby. And by his gift of food, etc., he acquired great merit and all-bright (lit., white like *kunda* flower) fame. His wife was Vairati, for whom there could be no parallel in the society. With the same respect she always showed great devotion to the four fold congregation of monks. She was religious purity incarnate (*samyaktva*=right faith). Both of them were so well-known and Asaga was their son. He was a pupil of Ācārya Nāganandi who was prominent among the wise or learned, whose spotless fame was spreading everywhere and who was well versed in *śabda* (grammar) and *samaya* (scripture). Asaga had a friend Jināpa (by name) who was devoted to Jina-dharma and liked by the pious. Jināpa, though known for his bravery, was afraid of the next world, and though he was high-born, he was free from prejudice or partiality (there is *śleṣa* here). Seeing that Jināpa (or meritorious intention) had faith in and liking for the exposition of Purāṇa and out of great attachment for him (some have read *guror nibandhe*), Asaga composed this poem, though quite aware of the limitations of his poetic abilities. After having composed the Sanmati-carita which is rich in poetic embellishments and variety of metrical patterns, Asaga composed this Śāntipurāṇa for diluting the worldly attachment of pious people.

Asaga's relation with the three Ācāryas can be clearly indicated. (i) Asaga was a sisya of Nāganandi, who is *śabdasamayārṇava-parāga*. Possibly he had studied under him and owed pious allegiance to him. (ii) Āryanandi-guru encouraged Asaga to compose the VC or Sanmati-carita. (iii) Asaga completed his VP at the feet of, or while staying with, or even under the guidance of Bhāvakīrti. His reference to all the three can be easily understood and accounted for.

This is all that Asaga has said about himself and his works. It is necessary to see what other poets have said about him, before some of his details are critically scrutinised.

Dhavalā, the author of the Harivamśapurāṇa in Apabhramśa refers to Asaga and his Virajinendra-carita in this way¹

असगु महाकव जे सुमणोहर
वीरजिणेदचरित किञ्च सुदर ।
केत्तिय कहमि सुकइगुण आयर
गेय कव्व जहि विरइय सुदर ॥

To render it freely, Asaga is a great poet who has composed his beautiful and attractive Virajinendra-carita in which beautiful verses have been woven, the merits of which are beyond expression. These compliments are on par with what Asaga himself has said about his VC. Dhavalā has not given his date, but he is tentatively assigned to the tenth or eleventh century A D.

¹ Allahabad University Journal, Vol I, p 167

Pönnā,¹ one of the three great poets of Kannada refers to Asaga, and claims his superiority (perhaps a bit exaggerated)² both over Asaga in Kannada (by hundred times) and over Kālidāsa in Sanskrit (by four times), in his Śāntipurāna (I 11) ³

ಕನ್ನಡ ಕವಿತೆಯೊಳಸಂ-

ಗಂ ನೂರ್ಮಡಿರೇಖೆಗಗಲೆ ಸಹಸ್ರದೇವ ।

ಮುಗ್ಧುಲಲ ಕಾಲಿದಾಸಂ-

ಗಂ ನಾಲ್ಕಡಿ ರಚನೆಯೊಳ್ ಕುರುಲಗಲೆ ಸವಣೆ ॥

Pönnā's specification indicates that he knew Asaga as a Kannada poet just in the manner that he speaks of Kālidāsa as a Sanskrit poet of the past Pönnā is very much indebted to Kālidāsa that is a good evidence for his proficiency in earlier Sanskrit literature He refers to Asaga, as noted above,⁴ in his Śāntipurāna and we have today before us the Śāntipurāna of Asaga in Sanskrit He is naturally indebted to Asaga's work The late A. P. Chaugule has shown how Pönnā is indebted in descriptions, ideas and expressions to Asaga's work ⁵ It is not unlikely that some of the ideas are a common inheritance from earlier Sanskrit works There is some controversy about Pönnā's date, because he has not mentioned any himself Different dates assigned to the Śāntipurāna by scholars namely from c 933, c 950 or c 973 This reference to Asaga by Pönnā establishes two facts that Asaga wrote in Kannada too and that he was earlier than Pönnā, the latest date for whom is c 973 A D

Durgasimha, whose date is now ascertained to be 1031 A D, mentions Asaga, in his Kannada Pamcatantra,⁶ along with other poets Manasiya and Candrabhatta

ಪೊಸತೇನಿಸಿ ದೊಸೆಯಿ ನವ-

ರಸಮೇಸೆಯಲೊಡ್ಡುವೆತ್ತ ಮಾರ್ಗದಿನಿಡೆಗೆ

ನೆಸೆದುವೊ ಸುಕವಿಗಲೆನೆ ನೆಗ-

ಲಕ್ಷಗನ ಮನಸಿಜನ ಚಂದ್ರಮದನ ಕುತಿಗಡ್ಡ ॥

Here Asaga is credited with the cultivation of Deśī style endowed with nine Rasas or poetic flavours

Lately, one Ms of the Vardhamānapurāna of Nāgavarma II, A D 1042, has come to light, and it is to be soon published by the Institute of Kannada Studies, University of

¹ Pampa has not mentioned Asaga, as noted by the Editor

² D. L. NARASIMHACHAR Piṭhikegaḷu Lekhanagalu, Mysore, 1971, pp 295 ff

³ VENKATA RAU AND H. SESHA AYYANGAR, with an Intro in English by R. Tata, Madras, 1929

⁴ There is another context where Pönnā refers to Asaga by *Śleṣa* (XII 23) and possibly to some five works of the latter

⁵ A. P. CHAUGULE Pönnāna mele Asagana Prabhāva, Jinavijaya in Kannada, XII 1, Belgaum, January, 1952, pp 4 ff

⁶ Ed. S. G. NARASIMHACHAR AND M. A. RAMANUJAYANGAR, Mysore, 1898 See Kavacarite, Vol I, Bangalore, 1961, p 35, App 2

Mysore, Mysore. He refers to Asaga in his work Vardhamānapurāṇa (I 27) in this manner ¹

कमलदोल नैग[ल्लते]यसगं गजगं गुणनंदि पौन्नने
 वन्नने संस्कृतोचितगे मयूरन बाणन काळिदासनो- ।
 रन्नने बेरे मत्तिनळ्ळिगळिगरोळ्ळिगरोळ्ळपोणवैपे-
 ल्ळदन्नने वल्लमेवत्त कविताद्वयदोल कवितागुणोदयं ॥

Nayasena, in his Dharmāmṛta (A D 1112)² speaks of a number of great qualities of different poets and yearns that his work be endowed with them (I 39)

असगन देसि पौन्नन महोन्नतिवत्त बेळंगु पंपनो
 दसदृशमत्पपूर्वरसभाव गजाकुशनोळ्ळुवेत्तु रं-
 जिमुव सदर्थदृष्टि गुणवर्मन जाण कविरन्ननोजे शो-
 भिसे नेळसिक्के धारिणिमनंगोळे मत्कृतियोळ्ळ निरंतरं ॥

He refers to the Deśī style of Asaga This shows that Asaga composed some Kannada works in the Deśī or indigenous style, as against Mārga or classical Sanskrit style

Brahmaśiva, (c 1100-30) in his Samayaparikṣe³, refers to Asaga by the synonym of the word, Rajaka, thus (I 35)

पौन्नने पंपने रचकने
 रन्नने कवितागुणोदयने दर्शनसं-
 पन्नतेयोळ्ळ कवितेयोळ्ळ-
 रन्नने विदिततमभावनगळ्ळदेव ॥

The word *asaga* is an older form of *agasa*, a washerman It is this that possibly led Pōnna to have that *ślesā* like this, in his Śāntipurāṇa (XII 73).

अय्दु कषायोदकदोल
 तोय्यसगंभोल नृपेद्रसभेयेंब कोळ-
 कय्द [ळसदलेदु सिलेयोळ्ळ]
 पोय्द कविचक्रवर्ति कविचीवरमं ॥

But there is no evidence to say that Asaga was a washerman by profession. On the other hand, it is clear from his biographical details noted above that he was a pious Śrāvaka

¹ I am thankful to Shri B S Sanniah for kindly giving this extract

² Ed R SHAMA SHASTRY Vols. I and II, Mysore, 1924-26

³ Ed B S KULKARNI, Dharwar, 1958

As I understand the term, his name really stands for Asamga, colloquially popularised as Asaga

Ācanna (c 1190-1220) remembers Asaga in his Vardhamānapurāṇa¹ in this way (I 18):

श्रीविजयं गजाकुशनुदात्तयज्ञं गुणवर्मना जग-
त्पावन नागवर्मनसगं रसिकामणिहंपदेवना ।
भावकचक्रि ह्रीमिगनिष्ठातुत रश्मिगनगदगळ-
धीविभुबोपपनैव कविकर्षर्पिदेसेदत्त भूतळ ॥

He mentions Nāgavarma also whose Vardhamāna-carita has lately come to light as noted above Shri B S Sannaiiah who is editing it tells me that Ācanna is indebted to Nāgavarma and close similarities are found in both the works It is a matter of further investigation whether Ācanna is directly indebted to Asaga or through Nāgavarma

Keśirāja (c 1260 A D), in his Śabdamanidarpana² refers to Asaga from whose works he appears to have collected his illustrations (5)

गजगन गुणनंदिय मन-
सिजनसगन चंद्रभट्ट गुणवर्मश्री-
विजयर योजन पंपन
सुजनोत्तसन सुमार्गमिदरोळे बद्धयं ॥

Namjumḍakavi (A D 1525) also refers to Asaga in his Kumārārāmakathe³

गजगन गुणवर्मन नागचद्रन
सुजनोत्तसन असगन ।
सुजन रश्मन शांतिवर्मन पदसर-
सिजगळिगोळिदेरगुवेनु ॥

All these references show that Asaga was well known to a number of Kannada authors It is difficult to say that every one of them was directly in touch with Asaga's works either in Kannaḍa or Sanskrit Pōnna had used Asaga's Śāntipurāṇa, and it is quite likely that Nāgavarma and even Ācanna had used the VP of Asaga

It is necessary to scrutinise critically some of the items of information supplied by Asaga himself

Asaga tells us that he composed eight works embodying the introductions of Jina For the present, we have only two of his works in Sanskrit, Vardhamāna-and Śāntipurāṇa, and so far none of his work, in Kannaḍa, has come to light.

¹ Ed MARIYAPPA BHATTIA AND M GOVIND RAO, Madras, 1953

² Ed D L NARASIMHACHAR, Mysore, 1959

³ Ed H DEVERAPPA, Mysore.

Jayakīrti (c 1000 A D , any way earlier than the middle of the 12th century A.D) in his Chandonuśāsana¹ VII 7, illustrates some metrical patterns in Kannaḍa. He has the following verse to illustrate *samānākṣara*

रतिपतिगणयुग्माद्रसित स्मरयुग्मं रतिरपि (च पुनः)
प्रतिपादं वर्तते यस्मिंस्तत्समानाक्षरं नाम ।
श्रुतिकान्तमक्षरदक्षैरादृतमसगाख्यकविना
प्रतिपादितं ननु कर्णाटकुमारसंभवकाव्ये ॥ ७ ॥

Further it is added thus by Jayakīrti (VII 16)

कन्दर्पगणतो रतिगणचतुष्कं चेत्
छन्दसि जयकीर्तौरादिवराहाख्या ।
छन्दोऽवतंसनामेति चतुष्पदिका
संहृष्टासौ कुमारसंभवादौ ॥ १६ ॥

Here is a clear statement of Jayakīrti that Asaga wrote the Karnata Kumārasambhava-kāvya It is not discovered so far, and naturally a good deal of speculation permeates it

In the colophon of the Sarga V of the Vardhamāna-purāna, the author's name appears as Asagabhūpa It creates a doubt whether Asaga was a ruler, but there is no such indication in his biographical details One chief Asagamarasa is known in the family of Śamka-ragamda, a feudatory of Rāstrakūta Krishna III (A D 939-67), and another called Asaga (c 950 A D) of the Kalachūri family of Kalyāna is mentioned² But these are all later than Asaga, The term *bhūpa* occurs only in one colophon, and the author himself has not said anything in this regard Pt Pannalal, in his translation presented in this edition, takes *prāpya* 'having acquired' but, it is not justified In his introduction, however, he takes 'having reached'

It has not been possible so far to identify king Śrīnātha, the mount Maudgalya and the town Virālā They have to be searched for in the Coda-vīsa or the Telugu are adjacent to Karnataka

The date of the composition of the Vardhamāna-purāna is stated as

संवत्सरे दशमवोत्तरवर्षयुक्ते ;

but it is far from a clear statement Most of the scholars have interpreted it as 910³ Some have taken it as Śaka era, because it was mostly current in the South, and equated it with A D 988⁴ Years back, I suggested that it should be taken as Samvat,⁵ and later,

¹ H D VELANKAR Jayadāman, Bombay, 1949, pp 37, 67 and 68

² P B DESAI Jainism in South India, Sholapur, 1959, p 368 A History of Karnataka, Dharwar 1970, p 216

³ 914 is a misprint in the Hindi translation in this Edition

⁴ H L JAIN Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss in C P and Berar (Nagpur, 1926), see, also his Bhāratīya Samskritime Jaina Dharmakā Yogadāna, Bhopal, 1962, p 170 Pt J. P Phadakuie in his introductions

⁵ ASAGA his works and date The Karnataka Historical Quarterly, II, 1, pp 42 ff, Dharwar, 1932 K. M Sharma Date of Asaga's Vardhamānacharita, New Indian Antiquary, Vol IV, Bombay, 1941-42

the late R. Narasimhachar has arrived at same conclusion¹ The Śaka 910 or A D 988 goes against the known fact that Pōnna has used the Śāntipurāṇa which was written after the Vardhamāna-purāṇa as noted by the author himself, and the latest date assigned to Pōnna is 973 A D Asaga has to be sufficiently earlier than Pōnna, and this is possible only if the date 910 is taken as the Vikrama Samvat, i e, equal to A D 853 Thus Asaga flourished in the middle of the 9th century, and wrote his *VP* in A D. 853²

Asaga mentions three Jaina Teachers (i) Bhāvakīrti, in whose presence (*pādamūle*) he completed the *VP* for the benefit of the pious Śrāvikā, Sampat (ii) Āryanandī who encouraged him to complete the *VP* and (iii) Nāganandī whose *śiṣya* he calls himself Some Ācāryas of these names are known from inscriptions, etc, but one cannot propose identity simply from the similarity of names, because there have been many Ācāryas of the same name It is obvious that the place of the literary activity of Asaga was the Telugu-Karnataka area, and he flourished in the middle of the 9th century A D One Āryanandī³ was the teacher of Virasena who completed his Dhavalā in c 815 A D But this would be too early a date for the teacher of Asaga The Gokak Copper-plates of Indranandī donate a grant of 50 Nivartanas of land made to one Āryanandī who belonged to Jambukhamdī-gana Evidently the grant is made to a guild for the purpose of worshipping the idol of Arhat, and for (the support of) preceptors and ascetics The grant was made with the permission of the Rāshtrakūta king Gojja, i e, Govinda IV (928-33 A D) in the year Śaka 845 or 923 A D⁴ Then in an inscription (date not specified) at Vallimalai, it is noted that one Āryanandī, disciple of Bālacandra, got engraved an image of the teacher Govardhana⁵ In Tamil Nadu, Arcot Dt, at Kalagu-malai and Pamchapāndava-malai there is an epigraph to state that an image of Yaksini was worshipped by the teacher Nāganandī But this is the Tamil area and the date is not given⁶ It is tentatively assigned to the 8th century A D Nandipottarasa is identified with Pallava Nandivarman (A D 717-779) But there is no mention of Śrīnātha here as Cola-sāmanta, nor is the source of this information given by the editor There is an inscription in Ramibennur (Dt Dharwar), dated 860 A D and belonging to the period of Rāshtrakūta Amoghavarṣa I It mentions the grant of some lands to Nāganandī Ācārya of the Simhavūra-gana The date and locality suit for identification with Naganandī mentioned by Asaga, but one cannot be definite Aparajitasūri had studied under Nāganandī at whose instance he composed his commentary on the (Bhagavati-) Ārādhana⁷ Nāganandī in the Śravana Belgola inscriptions is not a monk at all Another Nāganandī, who was a Bhattāraka, belongs to the 14th century A D

¹ Karnāṭaka Kavacarite, 2nd ed, 1961, also revised 2nd ed, Bangalore, 1972

² About Asaga, Shri V B Lokapur has contributed a number of articles in Kannaḍa He has shed a good deal of additional light on this poet Some of them are Asaga Kavīya Khvāti, Prabuddha Karnataka, for 1954-55, Mysore Asagana Vardhamānapurāṇada Kannaḍa Vyākhyāna, Jayanti, July, 1955 Asagana Kannaḍa Kumāra Sambhava, Kannada Nudi 52 (15 ?) See also, R S Mugli Kannaḍa Sāhitya Caritre, 1953, pp 27, 30, 47, 50

³ N PRĒMI Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, Bombay, 1956, p 128

⁴ Karnatak Historical Review, Vol 1, II, pp 43 ff

⁵ E HULTSCH E I, IV No 15

⁶ V VENKAYYA E I, IV, No 6 and No 14 A R A S, p 209 Also P B Desai, *ibid*, B L Rice has noted (Mysore Inscriptions Translated, Bangalore, 1879) one Nāganandī who was a Guru of the three princes of the Gaṅga Dynasty Kāla Vallabharāya, Govinda Rāya and Caturbhujā Kanaradeva. But this needs verification

⁷ See my Introduction, p 56, to the Bṛhat-Kathākośa, Bombay, 1943, cf page 46 of this compendium.

or a little earlier according to the *Nisidhi* record at Tagadur in Mysore.¹ Any way, we have no clearcut evidence to identify any one of these with the teacher of Asaga.

The *Vardhamāna-carita* or -*purāna* of Asaga is one of the earliest, if not the earliest poem dealing independently and solely with the biography of Mahāvīra. The author qualifies his poem in the colophon by the expression *Mahapurānapanisadi*,² possibly hinting thereby that his work is based on the *Mahāpurāna* of Jinasena-Guṇabhadra. He calls his *VC* a *Prabhandha* narrating thirty-seven Bhavas: it is, to put it in plain terms, the biography of the soul of Mahāvīra in its thirty-seven births, Purūrava to Mahāvīra. Of the eighteen Sargas, only the last two constitute the biography of Mahāvīra as such, the earlier sixteen being devoted to his previous births. Mahāvīra's biography, stripped of conventional details and descriptions, can be summarised in short as below.

King Siddhārtha of Jñāta-varṇa and his queen Priyākārinī lived at Kundapura in Videha country. For fifteen months god Tiryag-vijrambhaka showered wealth on that town. Priyākārinī saw, in the latter half of the night, sixteen dreams, the fruits of which as Siddhārtha interpreted to her satisfaction, would be that she would carry a worthy and great son. Heavenly nymphs started nursing her. She gave birth to a son, a prince, on the 13th day of the bright half of Caitra, to the jubilation of one and all. The gods celebrated the ceremonial bathing on birth, and noting the strength of the child on that occasion Indra named the child Vīra. Right from the day she conceived, the prosperity of the family went on increasing, so the child was named Vardhamāna. Once there arrived Cārana saints, Vijaya and Samjaya, and some doubts in their mind were just cleared on seeing Vardhamāna, so they named him Sanmati. His boyhood was spent in various sports with his companions. Once the god Saṃgama took the form of a serpent and confronted Vardhamāna. Vardhamāna played with it, without any fear, putting his foot on its head, but his companions fled away in terror. By this feat he became famous as Mahāvīra. He abstained from the temptation of sense of pleasures, and accepted renunciation at the age of thirty in the Nāgakhanda-vana. Once king Kula offered to him food duly to the great jubilation of all. While Mahāvīra practised *Pratimā-yoga*, on the Atimuktaka cemetery ground, Rudra created terrors, but Mahāvīra remained firm in meditation, so he came to be known as Mahatī Mahāvīra. He practised severe penances and sustained meditations for twelve years. He attained omniscience (Kevala-jñāna) under a Sāla tree, at Jṛmbhaka-grāma on the bank of the river Rjukūlā, that being the 10th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha. Kubera organised a rich audience Hall (Samavasarana). Gautama became his Ganadhara, and the divine voice flowed out of him. Gautama composed twelve-fold scripture. Mahāvīra toured various places, expounding seven Tattvas, nine Padārthas, etc., in reply to Indra's questions, with a view to explaining the problems of this and the next world, for thirty years. At the age of 72, he attained Nirvāna at Pāvāpura in the last quarter of the night of the 14th day of the black half of Kārtika, when the star Svāti was in conjunction with the moon.

The earlier lives are narrated directly or some time through the mechanism of Pūrvabhavas put in the mouth of some saint or so. These Bhavas have their interest in various ways. They link Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthakara, with Vrsabha the first Tīrthakara of Jainism. Secondly, the Karma doctrine, which is the backbone of Jainism, is so well

¹ A. R. of Mysore, 1938, p. 173.

² Compare the expression *Bhagavadgītapanisatsu* in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

demonstrated by these births· every one is responsible for one's own Karmas (in thought, word and deed), and one cannot escape them without experiencing their fruits, good or bad. Thirdly, so many characters, both human and sub-human, are introduced, and it is a psychological study by itself. And lastly, good many moral and religious lessons are conveyed through various situations, persons and sermons. In fact, some of the details have a great salutary effect on the pious mind and go to stabilise a religious bent of mind.

What has been a Purāṇic theme woven round the historical personality of Mahāvira is set into a framework of Sanskrit Kāvya with all its characteristics by Asaga. The division of Sargas, metrical pattern, the nature of characters, requisite descriptions, use of embellishments, introduction of poetic flavours and the objective of the poem—all these make this Prabhandha a Kāvya. Asaga is well read in earlier Sanskrit Kāvyas of eminent poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and others. He inherits the inspiration from Jināsena, and he is steeped in Jaina dogmatics expounded in earlier works of Kundakunda, Umāsvāti, Pūjyapāda and others. He has a remarkable love for poetic descriptions and details, often at the cost of the narration of the story or of events. Asaga has stated that his Sanmati-carita of his is

सदलंकारविचित्रवृत्तबन्धम् ।

and this is fully borne out by the various Alamkāras and metres used by him. They are studied in details by Dr Nemichandra Shastri¹ and by Pt Pannalal-sāhityāchārya, and they need not be repeated here.

In addition to what Asaga has inherited from the poets and authors noted above, Pt Jinadas,² Dr Nemichandra Shastri and Pt Pannalal have shown how Asaga's work is indebted to the Jivandhara-campū, Dharmasarmābhyudaya and Candraprabha-carita which are closely studied in the circle of Jaina Panditas. The common ideas and parallel expressions are quite obvious. Some of them may have been inherited from earlier sources. But the question who is indebted to whom has to remain an open one for further study and investigation in view of the chronological sequence of these authors and the authenticity of the passages in a particular context. Asaga can be indebted only to those authors who lived earlier than the middle of the 9th century A.D.

The General Editor feels grateful to our President Shriman Lalchand Hirachandaji for his enlightened guidance in all our deliberations. Heavier responsibilities have devolved on the broad shoulders of Shriman Walchand Deochandaji who is helping this Granthamālā in every way for its progress. It is his devotion to the teachings of Mahāvira that enabled him to bring out this publication.

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¹ Samśkrta Kāvya-ke Vikāś-me Jaina Kaviyompkā Yogadāna, Delhi, 1971, pp 139-167

² In the foot-notes to his edition noted above

GENERAL INDEX

(Following abbreviations are used

Au=author, Chal=Chalukya, g=God or goddess, Inst=Institution, Kad=Kadamba, min=minister, pl=place, prec=preceptor, Pt=pandit, Rāṣṭra=Rāṣṭrakūṭa, sa=same as, T=Tirthaṅkara, tit tittle, W=wife, Wk=work)

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